ly against any further domination by Wall Street of our government affairs; against any further protection of Big Business at the expense of the farmers and workers and against whitewashing of dishonesty in government, as has been done so constantly in the last two administrations.

Taking everything into consideration, we can heartily recommend Senator McIntosh to the voters for the Democratic nomination for the U. S. Senate from Maryland. Do away with the farcical Democrat we now have there, and put in a real man, Hon. David G. McIntosh, Jr.

NI E THOUSAND MILES ON AN OIL TANKER

By RICHARD PEMBROKE, Jr.

THE FIFTH OF LAST July we started our trip to San Pedro and back. We boarded the S.S. T—1 at Baltimore at seven o'clock that morning. During the morning we set sail down the Chesapeake Bay. As I was to be Assistant Electrician of the ship I soon made the aquaintance of "Sparks," the genial radio operator, whose real name was Thomas Massarelli, and with whom I was to be in close company during the whole voyage.

THE AUTHOR

On the morning of the second day, according to my log book, we came out into the Atlantic Ocean and the trip really began. That was the only day in which I felt any seasickness. I immediately got my "sea-legs" however, and was able to enjoy the rest of the trip without interference from the complaint that plagues so many ocean travellers.

During the next few days, or until July 13, the trip was comparatively uneventful. I learned a good deal about wireless telegraphy in which I am very much interested. I also learned to steer the ship. During these days we passed San Salvador, where Columbus landed, and in the early hours of July tenth, we came

DECKS AWASH IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA

we came close to the shores of Cuba. A slight West Indian squall struck us just off the Bahamas, but didn't last long, for which I was thankful. I have never seen a West Indian storm, but from what I read of them, they are not pleasant bedfellows.

On the 13th, we arrived at Limon Bay, Panama Canal Zone. The ship was boarded by the canal pilot, and eight negroes to help in handling the ship through the big waterway. Previous to our arrival in Panama, we had "slicked" the ship all over and prepared the supply boat for use at the other end of the canal for taking on supplies.

After taking on the canal crew, we proceeded up Limon Bay to the entrance to the canal, where we traveled along the sea level channel for about seven miles, when we entered the Gatun Locks, the largest canal locks in the world. By a series of three locks we were raised eighty-five feet into Gatun Lake. Gatun Lake is filled with small islands, which, like the shores of the lake, are covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. We steamed at full speed across Gatun Lake for twenty-three miles when we entered Culebra Cut. The cut is the deepest in the canal and was consequently the hardest to make, as it was blasted out of solid rock. Just beyond Culebra, came the Pedro Miguel Locks, which lowered us thirty feet into Miraflores Lake. Acros sMiraflores Lake to the locks which bear the same name, and we were fifty-five feet closerto sea level. The Pacific sea-level channel is populated with tremendous schools of large minnows. It was interesting to watch the pelicans making their meals in some of these schools. We were told that hundreds of pelicans get their entire living right in that channel by eating those minnows.

MIRAFLORES LOCKS PANAMA CANAL

The picture of Miraflores Lock gives a very good idea of the size of the lake. The picture was taken at the beginning of the locks and at one of the smallest parts of the lake.

The locks in the Panama Canal are all run entirely by electricity, and even the "mules" are high powered trolley cars which run up and down the sides of the locks to pull the boats from one section to another.

After coming to the end of the canal, we waited several hours to take on coal and supplies and then sailed out into the Pacific Ocean. The long trip up the West Coast was especially interesting, because of the great abundance of animal life in the ocean. Once or twice, however, we were entirely out of sight of land. Occasionally we passed large groups of islands and many whales played around the ship. Cape San Lucas, the southernmost extremity of Lower California, was passed on the morning of the twenty-first. It is about the most barren place I have ever seen. The only human for two or three hundred miles is the light-house keeper. For three hundred miles up the coast, there is nothing to be seen but vast stretches of sand, all the way across the peninsula.

We arrived in San Pedro during the afternoon of the twenty-third, and went ashore for the first time since leaving Baltimore. After going ashore, I decided to go to Los Angeles, twenty-five miles away. I took the train and on my arrival there, I got on an excursion bus and made a tour of the whole region around Los Angeles. I visited Hollywood, the center of the great movie-making industry, Cahunga Pass, Universal City, another movie town, Lankershim, Van Nuys, the old San Fernando Mission, the City of San Fernando, and also the big U. S. Veterans' Hospital. It was rather late in the afternoon when I returned to Los Angeles, and I put up at the Rosalyn Hotel. The next

morning, after doing a little shopping, I went back to San Pedro and aboard ship. Late that afternoon we sailed up the harbor to the docks of the Shell Oil Co., and started filling th tanks with gasoline. During the whole of the next day the tanks were being filled and I made two more trips to San Pedro with some of the sailors. We had supper and went to the mov-

SANTA CATALINA ISLAND

ies in San Pedro and got back to the ship very late that night.

The next morning we sailed from San Pedro, and for the next thirteen days, or until August tenth, very little of any consequence happened. I helped with several electrical jobs throughout th ship, such as replacing bushlnga, watering the batteries, etc. I also helped clean the burners of the engines. The passage through the canal on th tnth of August, was just as our previous passage, only reverse traveling, of course.

We encountered rough weather in Carribean Sea. Some of the waves which broke over us were thirty feet high. As we neared Haiti, the water became smoother, but roughened up again after we had passed the island republic. On the morning of the fifteenth, we saw over twenty waterspouts in a row, which was an unusual sight, even for the Carribean Sea, where you may expect to see anything, from a flying eel to a typhoon.

During the next few days I made several unsuccessful and a few successful attempts to get biological mens from seaweed. Finally, by trailing a heavy line with a hook on it, I managed to draw quite a bunch of seaweed, containing many interesting specimens of tropical plant and animal life from under the sea. On the twentieth of August, we sighted Block Island, off Providence, R. I., and during the day we landed and the sea part of the voyage was over. It only remained for me to spend the day going back to St. Mary's County by train and boat, from Providence, R. I. Itook a train early the next morning for New York and Baltimore, where I took the boat to Millstone, Md., and was met at the wharf in an automobile and taken back to Park Hall, my home town.

The trip, I felt, had been a very interesting experience for me, as I had not only learned something more about electricity, but had a very good time, and saw a great many sights.

SUPPOSE—

AN EDITORIAL

Let us suppose that the time is about July, 1776: the place is anywhere along the Eastern Front of the United States and the situation is the American Revolution.

The Declaration of Independence has just recently been drawn up and adopted—the rebels have gained several decisive and are in a fair way to come out victorous in their rebellion against the Conservative and tyrannous government which is duly and legally constituted to rule them.

Suddenly, however, word is received that the German Government is sending a detachment of Marines, to keep order in this rebellious part of the British Empire, and to protect German interests here.

The German Marines have orders to stop the rebellion and to disarm teh rebels, who are fighting against their

government. This is accordingly done after the Germans have, by their tremendously superior strength, numbers and fighting ability, won several battles over the unskilled and comparatively unarmed American rebels.

However, the powerful German government is victorious—the rebellion in this little country across the ocean is put down—German interests are protected and the Conservative government in the British Empire reigns supreme over its dominions in America. The Liberals who declared themselves independent of their government and tried to set up a new one, were defeated, as was only right, because they were Liberals.

All this doesn't sound like history, does it? Of course not. We all know that the strong nations of the world did not interfere with the rebels in America when they declared their independence, and fought for their liberty.

But does it sound familiar?

Let us substitute the name "Nicaraguan" rebels for "American" rebels, and substitute the "Conservative government of Nicaragua" for the "Conservative government of the British Empire" and substitute "The United States of America" for the "German Government" and we have the present situation almost exactly.

Imagine the thoughts, the words and the actions of the early Americans if the French, the Italians, the Spaniards the Germans or any other foreign power had done, in our revolution, the thing we are now doing to Nicaragua in its revolution.

What LEGAL right have we, under the Pan-American Treaty, to assume overlordship in this weak and defenseless country—what MORAL right have we, under the laws of decency and international conduct, to invade their country, to police their cities, to shoot down by the hundreds, their inhabitants, all "for their own good," to quote our disgusting Secretary of State? What right have we, when a small group of Liberals in another country, try to better conditions in their own country, to send bombing planes and kill off these patriots in their own land?

It would have been unfavorable to a few American capatalists to have the Conservative government of Nicaragua dislodged, (although it is only in power through fraud and usurpation, sponsored by two New York banks, The Guaranty Trust Company and J. & W. Seligman Co.) hence they immediately asked to have U. S. Marines sent to protect their own private interests.

The recent battle of Ocotal was one of the most barefaced pieces of cold-blooded murder in the history of civilization. The U. S. Marines, with the whole force of the United States back of them, and the aid of all the most modern fighting machinery, including bombing planes, nearly wiped out in a few hours the whole army of General Sandino. And Major Ross Rowell, for his bravery in driving a huge bombing airplane and dropping a few TNT bombs on the little band of rebels who were fighting for their freedom with nothing but antiquated shotguns, is recommended for a Distinguished Service Cross. If that is bravery, God help the cowards!

We do not hold the Marines directly responsible, for they had their orders from the State Department at Washington. Secretary Kellogg, when informed of the massacre and of the retreat of two hundred surviving Liberals, ordered that the retreating ones be followed and shot down as "common outlaws." We denounce Secretary Kellogg as a cold-blooded murderer, awnd not only ask his instant dismissal from the cabinet, but his conviction for first-degree murder. We also demand the court-martial and demotion of all Marine officers who had charge of the Ocotal murders and we furthermore demand the impeachment of President Coolidge for permitting the State Department to perpetrate such outrages in the name of the United States.

"Oh, 'tis excellent
To have a giant's strength,
But to use it like a giant
Is tyranny!"

(Shakespeare).

PERSONAL GLIMPSES

DR. WILLIAM BALTZELL BURCH

(Editor's Note: This was to have been devoted to Mr. Aloysuis F. King this month, but owing to the death of Dr. Burch, we have postponed the article on Mr. King until next month.)

T IS WITH DEEP SORROW that we record the death of)r. William Baltzell Burch, of 'alley Lee. His going is a distinct)ss to the community and a per-)nal loss to us,

With the ability and education) make himself a very wealthy ıan, had he chosen to work for imself alone, he chose rather to ive himself with enthusiastic evotion to the service of his fel-)w men. He gave his great in-uence and time to the organiz-tion of the Tobacco Growers' ıssociation, the Farm Bureau nd other community movements. lis ability was recognized in the onors that were heaped upon im. At the time of his death he ras vice president and director f the Tobacco Growers' Associa-ion and president of the Saint Iary's County Farm Bureau Fed-ration.

In politics he was the kind of a Democrat we admire most, intelligent and independent, and absolutely fearless in discussion. He was one of the famous "Committee of Seven" which re-organized the Democratic party in Maryland in 1901.

His place, Windmar-on-the-Potomac, he had made into a home of charm and beauty where, with the aid of his family, he practiced a gracious hospitality.

We had intended to devote the next Personal Glimpses department to an interview with Dr. Burch. In sorrow we substitute this memorial tribute to him. Our sincere sympathy is extended to the bereaved family.

C. W. W.

WATCH FOR OUR
Eighth Anniversary Issue
Out December 15th

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

that was done by the government in its effort to get evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti.

When Celeste Maderios confessed, in prison, that he and the gang he was with, perpetrated the Braintree murders, he was ignored and no investigation was made by the state at all. But when other inquirers made a study of his confession, his story was substantiated and he was proven conclusively to have been one of the Morelli gang and that the Morellis were the real murderers. However, in the face of all this new evidence, and countless other new evidence, (some of which we have detailed in another part of this story) the court would not grant a new trial. And all efforts to have the case reviewed by another, and a less prejudiced judge, failed and the case always came back to Judge Thayer, that contemptible crook, who deliberately murdered Sacco and Vanzetti!

So, through the conspiracy of Judge Thayer, Governor Fuller, the United States Department of Justice and the state Supreme Court, Sacco and Vanzetti are dead! Murdered! And the worst they ever did was to oppose war, exactly as our Lord did nineteen hundred years ago!

Everything seems now to be going smoothly—these two radicals are dead and out of the way—the Burgeois reigns supreme, through the grace of their money and power—but for how long? How long will decent people stand this kind of oppression, this extreme Sovietism, in which any one disagreeing with the government can be killed for it? Nicolo Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti have lost their own lives, but in losing them, have done more for the reconstruction of civilization than any other two men within recent times. We warn the Burgeois! They cannot stay in power eternally, by force!

Sacco and Vanzetti must be vindicated!

But not by bombs and daggers. The murder of pacifists should never be avenged by violence. It is to be sincerely hoped that bomb-throwing fanatics will not create devastation through the world in misguided sympathy for the dead men. We suggest, by way of a memorial to Sacco and Vanzetti, a more unified radical party. If, through common sympathy for those two victims of a class war, radicals and liberals of all shades of belief may be banded together into one group, so that a definite program of activities could be decided upon and radical unity be a fact instead of a theory, then indeed, will we have erected a monument to Sacco and Vanzetti, far greater than stone or marble, and far more useful to posterity.

Nicolo Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti will live in the minds of men and will typify persecuted free thought, long after the rest of us have perished, not only from the face of the earth, but from the pages of history.

JOHN M. WHITMORE

OUR NEW ASSOCIATE EDITOR

"DICK" PEMBROKE VALUABLE ADDITION TO THE PAPER

It is with great pleasure that we announce that Mr. Richard Pembroke, Junior has become connected with the Southern Maryland Press, as Associate Editor. Mr. Pembroke, or "Dick" as he is known to us, has been interested in the affairs of the Press ever since its start in 1919.

He has written an interesting article for this issue and is planning several more for future issues. We can recommend anything coming from his pen, as he is unusually brilliant and extremely well-versed in all matters and especially scientific subjects. He typifies the most modern and radical trend in science, sociology and politics.

His great interest in, and knowlege of science, has won for him the valuable friendship of Dr. Francis Nicholas, Dean of the Maryland Academy of Science, and many other men of scientific fame.

Dick will be a valuable addition to the Press and we feel sure that our readers will enjoy his articles.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. 10,000,000
2. At least another 10,000,000 men, women and children: that is, 20,000,000 in all, or about as many people as are now living in New York, London, Paris and Berlin.
3. Wise men are still trying to find out.
4. No. The dispute is settled after the war by discussion, and this discussion might better take place before the slaughter.
5. This is now impossible. The more one nation prepares, the more the other nations will prepare and combine against it.
6. No. War means gas and air bombardments, from which experts say there is no protection for non-combatants.
7. A reputation for friendliness and square-dealing; a government pledged to arbitrate all disputes; a thinking people that cannot be stampeded into supporting war.
8. Yes, as we got rid of the dual and slavery. Institutions are gradually outgrown, and war is a relic of barbarism!
9. No, we must attack both problems at once; war always checks progress and puts back economic reform.
10. This is a question for you to decide. If you decide NO, send your name to the War Resisters League, 132 W. 12 St., N. Y.

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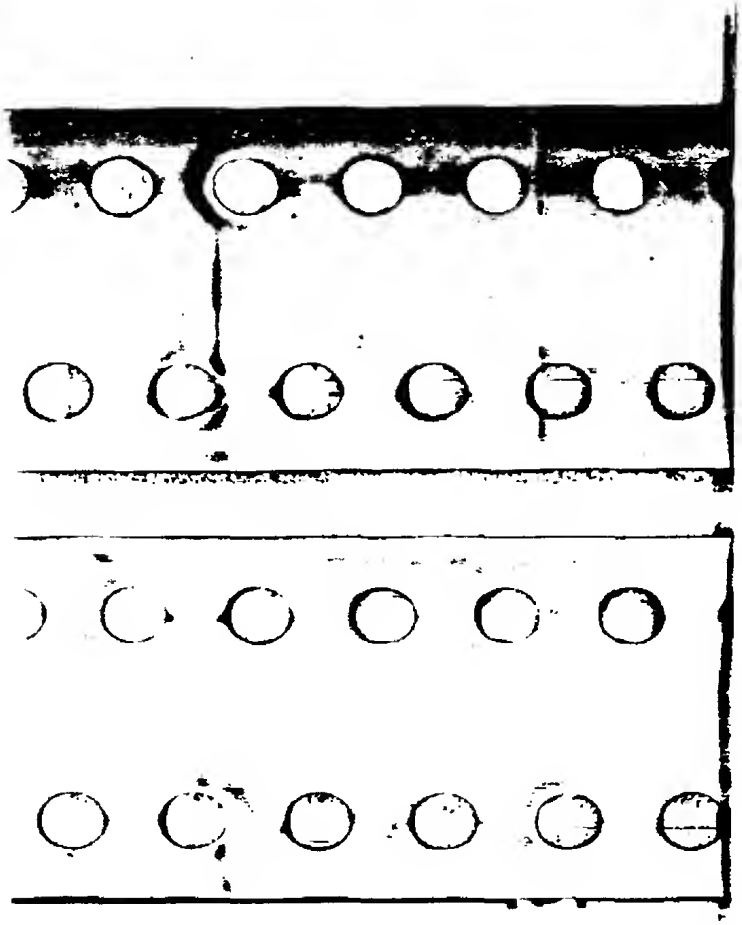

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TO obtain quality in printing it is absolutely essential that the typographer make himself familiar with the work of the best printers. ¶ We keep posted regarding all those matters that concern good printing and good type.

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LITERARY DIGEST
DEC 1
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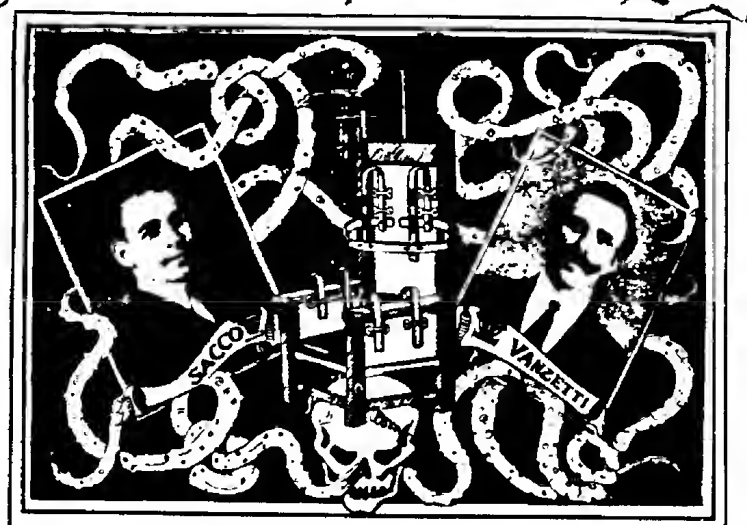
PERSONAL · GLIMPSES

OUR COMMUNIST "MARTYRS" DISTURBING THE WORLD

"SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI!"

Most of the countries of Europe and South America, even Mexico, it is said, are better acquainted with this slogan than is America, where it originated. Within a few weeks a Massachusetts court will decide whether the two Italians convicted of murder shall have a new trial, and in the meantime bomb outrages, boycotts of American goods, and general strikes throughout the world will emphasize the International Communist conviction that the men are being railroaded to death, not because of what they did, but because of what they thought. Thus far, bombs have been sent to the American Ambassador in Paris and to the American Consul General in Lisbon. American representatives in Havana, Peru, Buenos Aires, and Juarez, Mexico, have been warned that their own deaths will follow the execution of the two Italian Communists. American goods are boycotted in several places in South America; demonstrations have been held in front of the American Embassy in Brussels; 5,000 Parisian police were mobilized in Paris following the receipt of a bomb and some fifty threatening letters by Ambassador Herrick; many men and women who had gathered in Rome to protest against the "American judicial murder" were injured, and more than 100 arrested, in a conflict with the police. Judge Webster Thayer, who is reviewing the evidence to determine whether a new trial shall be granted, has received threats and letters enough to constitute, in his own words, "the boldest attempt to influence the court in the history of Massachusetts." The radical *Minneapolis Daily Star* (Minneapolis) reminds him of the disbarment of Daniel H. Coakley and two other Boston lawyers in connection with the "$100,000-shake-down" following a dinner party to a well-known movie star at the Copley-Plaza Hotel in 1917. "Possibly if the Italians had been moving-picture actors," concludes the Minneapolis paper, "Mr. Coakley would have slipt over to Dedham and talked to Judge Thayer." A good many other editors, radical and otherwise, are wondering whether the two Italians had as fair a chance for their lives as American justice customarily allows.



MADE HEROES BY WORLD-WIDE PROPAGANDA

"An infamous, haughty capitalist-judiciary threatens to drag to the electric chair these two most imperturbable Italian citizens." So runs a literal translation of the beginning of a widely circulated Italian poster, headed by the photographs and the dramatic drawing shown above.

What is the basis of this international protest, which started with "three men in a dim-lit, scantily furnished office in Boston"? Samuel Spewack, a staff correspondent of the New York *World*, takes us back to the day of the murder for which Vanzetti and Sacco now await execution in the electric chair. The *World* investigator presents:

Pearl Street in grimy South Braintree in the mid-afternoon of April 15, 1920. The three o'clock train from Boston screeches into the New Haven Railroad Station nearby.

Two men, the paymaster and his guard, of the Slater Morrell shoe factory, leisurely make their way to the street, bearing in two boxes the weekly payroll.

Revolver shots sound over the grinding in the factories. The paymaster and the guard stagger to the ground. Two men, revolvers in hand, seize the boxes and leap into an automobile containing three other men.

Windows are thrown open in the factory. Frightened employees peer out into the street. The automobile speeds over the railroad tracks. Passers-by and workmen rush to the two fallen men—Alexander Berardelli and Frank Parmenter. They are dead.

This is the crime a jury in Dedham fastened upon Nicolo Sacco and Bartolome Vanzetti.

Three weeks after the murder these two Italian laborers were arrested in Brockton, nearby. Vanzetti was linked with still another crime, and both men with the Pearl Street tragedy.

Evidence against the two men was largely circumstantial. Judge Webster Thayer, who presided, told the jury that "there is a most strenuous contest or dispute as to the identity of the murderers. The real issue that you must determine (the identity) is a very narrow one."

Both men had alibis supported by reputable witnesses. Sacco had been in the Italian Consul's office in Boston upon the day of the crime, a clerk in the office testified. Vanzetti, so other witnesses swore, had spent that day selling fish in Plymouth, thirty-five miles away from South Braintree.

Before their arrest neither of the men had been convicted of a crime. Sacco was a shoe worker and a watchman, and one employer testified to his honesty. Vanzetti had done menial work. Of late he had been peddling fish in the Italian colonies near Boston.

Both men were radicals. Shortly before their arrest they had arranged a mass meeting of protest against the death of Salsedo, the radical who committed suicide by leaping from the Department of Justice Building on Park Row, New York, after, it is charged, he was rendered half-insane by "third degree" methods. Salsedo's companion was deported, and the incident was never explained. Both Sacco and Vanzetti were active in strikes, altho their friends assert they never were paid leaders. As for their connection with the South Braintree murder, the investigator explains:

First prejudicial evidence against the men centered upon the fact that they carried revolvers. In answer, the defense maintains that all members of the Italian colony own weapons—no license is needed in this State to have a weapon at home—and that many carry revolvers without knowledge of the law. Further, Sacco had frequently carried a revolver as a watchman.

Briefly, the points made by the prosecution were these:

1. A group of witnesses identified Sacco and Vanzetti either as the hold-up men or "suspicious" men seen loitering in South Braintree.

2. A police captain, who claimed to be a revolver expert, linked the bullet found in Berardelli's body with Sacco's revolver.

3. "Consciousness of guilt" was manifested by the two men upon the night they were arrested—that they made evasive statements and lied about their movements.

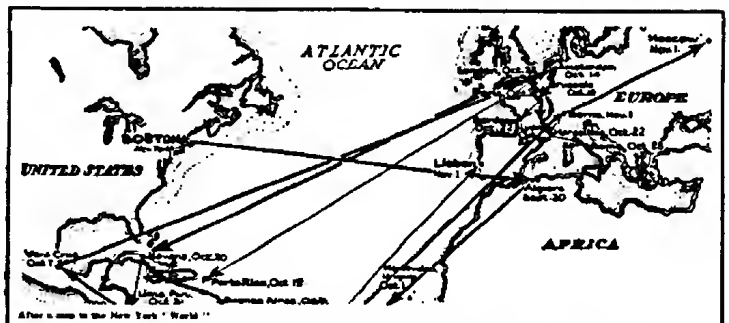
Replying the defense argued that:

1. Three of the prosecution's star witnesses had changed their testimony from the preliminary hearing a year ago. Then they were not positive. At the trial they insisted upon the identification.

2. Witnesses against the men were at some distance from the hold-up men, and yet several men who stood close by the assailants could not identify either Sacco or Vanzetti.

3. Experts called from revolver factories contradicted the prosecution's expert.

4. "Consciousness of guilt" was betrayed because the men knew of the Red raids; they had heard of Salsedo and did not, therefore, wish to be enmeshed with the Department of Justice.



After a map in the New York "World"

HOW THE AGITATION TRAVELED OVER THREE CONTINENTS

Beginning in Boston the course of the propaganda in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti followed the lines shown on the map, with places and dates of protest. The American agitation is said to be just getting under way.

One of the circumstantial phases at issue involved a Buick car found abandoned near Bridgewater. Witnesses testified it was this type of car that the hold-up men had used.

Sacco, Vanzetti, Michael Boda and Orciani—the two latter agitators and friends of the convicted men—went to a garage upon the night of the arrest to take out Boda's car. Boda owned an Overland.

The proprietor had been told by the police to notify them if Boda appeared. He was to be questioned in connection with Communist activities. The police were notified. Meanwhile the four, sensing danger, disappeared. A half hour later Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested upon a street car.

The prosecution introduced witnesses to show Boda had used a Buick. Boda and Orciani disappeared.

Significant in the analysis of the case is the atmosphere surrounding the trial. The defense maintains—and impartial investigators with it—that the political beliefs of the two men struck fear into many of the provincial in Dedham. Five hundred residents were examined before a jury could be chosen; a court officer was compelled to go into the street to gather talesmen, and during this process, the defense says, the officer chose nine men from a Masonic meeting.

Much has been written of the Judge's charge, particularly abroad. Radicals have claimed that Judge Thayer practically told the jury to convict the two men because they were Communists. That is not true.

Judge Thayer did tell the jury to deliberate with the courage "such as is typified by the American soldier boy as he fought and gave up his life upon the battlefields of France." But he urged at the same time that no distinction of race or political belief should *influence* the verdict.

Sympathizers of the two men who attack Judge Thayer maintain that altho legally fair his statements of "courage" intensified the prejudice of the jury against the two radicals.

Where specific identification testimony is cited, this article will treat briefly of two other contested points not linked directly with the crime:

1. Police said the men acted as if they were about to draw revolvers when they were arrested. This, the defense says, is a conclusion from the nervous manner of the two men.

2. Vanzetti's conviction upon a hold-up charge is declared a "frame-up" by the defense. When the two men were arrested Vanzetti was brought to trial for quite another hold up in Bridgewater. Then, after conviction and sentence to fifteen years' imprisonment, he was brought to trial with Sacco for the South Braintree murder. The story of this is not treated in detail here, as the world-wide protest dealt only with the South Braintree crime.

Nevertheless, the defense contends introduction of the previous conviction stamped Vanzetti a criminal. The defense, summarizing the case, emphasizes that radicals do not commit crimes; that nothing in the Communist theory sustained a petty hold-up and shooting of employees. For that matter, the Communists insist they do not contemplate violence, and certainly Communists seen by this writer in Boston are as mild mannered as schoolmasters.

Here is the prejudicial testimony against the two men:

Mary E. Splaine and Frances J. Devlin, office workers for the Slater Morrell concern, saw the hold-up men from the second floor of the building, a distance of eighty feet, the defense says.

Miss Devlin gave a minute description of the hold-up man, nevertheless—color of hair, build, and so on. She positively identified Sacco as that man.

Yet a year ago she had said at the preliminary hearing: "I do not think my opportunity afforded me the right to say he is the man." She admitted that after a visit to Police Headquarters she could not, after studying Sacco minutely, identify him.

Miss Splaine was equally certain. She too at the preliminary hearing said she was not positive of her identification. At the trial she made an unqualified identification.

Louis L. Wade was in the street when the shooting occurred, "three telegraph poles away."

He identified Sacco, but he too had indicated his doubt at the preliminary hearing.

Louis Pelzer, a shoe worker, swore he saw the shooting from a first-story window. He identified Sacco, but three men who worked with him testified Pelzer was frightened and did not gaze out into the street long enough to obtain more than a fleeting glance at the hold-up men. Further, shortly after the crime was committed, Pelzer told a detective he had not seen the tragedy. He explained this by his desire to avoid being a witness.

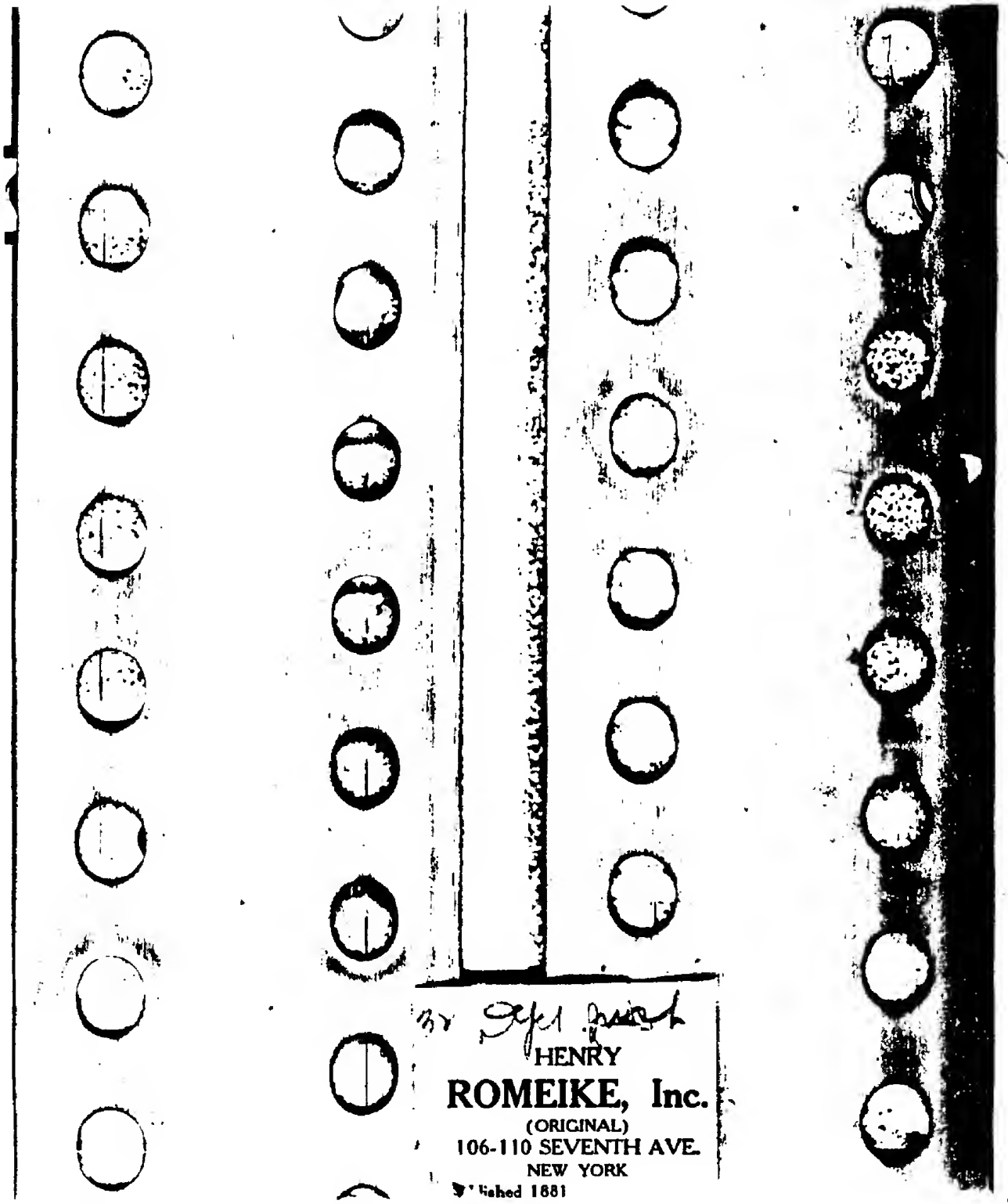
Fourteen witnesses, some of them within a few feet of the [illegible] a murder car, could not identify the two men.

[illegible]re is the testimony of numerous indi[illegible]ls who saw two "foreigners"—Sacco and Vanzetti, they were convinced—in various parts of the town several hours before the crime was committed. In answer the defense states that this was absurd; that men planning a crime would not loiter in the neighborhood, particularly as Sacco, as a shoe worker, was well known.

Michael Levangie and Harry Dolbeare linked Vanzetti with the crime by testifying they had seen him in the fleeing automobile. Levangie is the gate tender at the station. He said a man in the automobile pointed a revolver at him. He identified the man as Vanzetti. Levangie's testimony was contradicted by witnesses for the defense who were near the station at the time. Dolbeare saw the profile of one of the occupants of the automobile. His testimony, he conceded, was vague, but he identified Vanzetti as the man.

The prosecution endeavored to prove that Vanzetti's revolver was taken from Berardelli. The guard's revolver had been recently repaired for a broken spring. There was no evidence that Vanzetti's revolver had acquired a new spring, altho witnesses did testify to a new hammer.

For the defense more than a hundred witnesses were called. Twenty of them supplied alibis for the two men. Witnesses for Sacco included the Vice-President of the Haymarket National Bank in Boston, a grocer, a photographer, the clerk in the consulate office where Sacco said he had been that day and a shoe manufacturer. Their testimony placed Sacco definitely in Boston that day.



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The Sacco-Vanzetti Decision

EDITORIAL

Was Governor Fuller Fair?

A STATEMENT

The Condemned—a Poem

BY WINTER [illegible]

Mr. Coolidge Withdraws

EDITORIAL

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LI — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1927 — NUMBER 663

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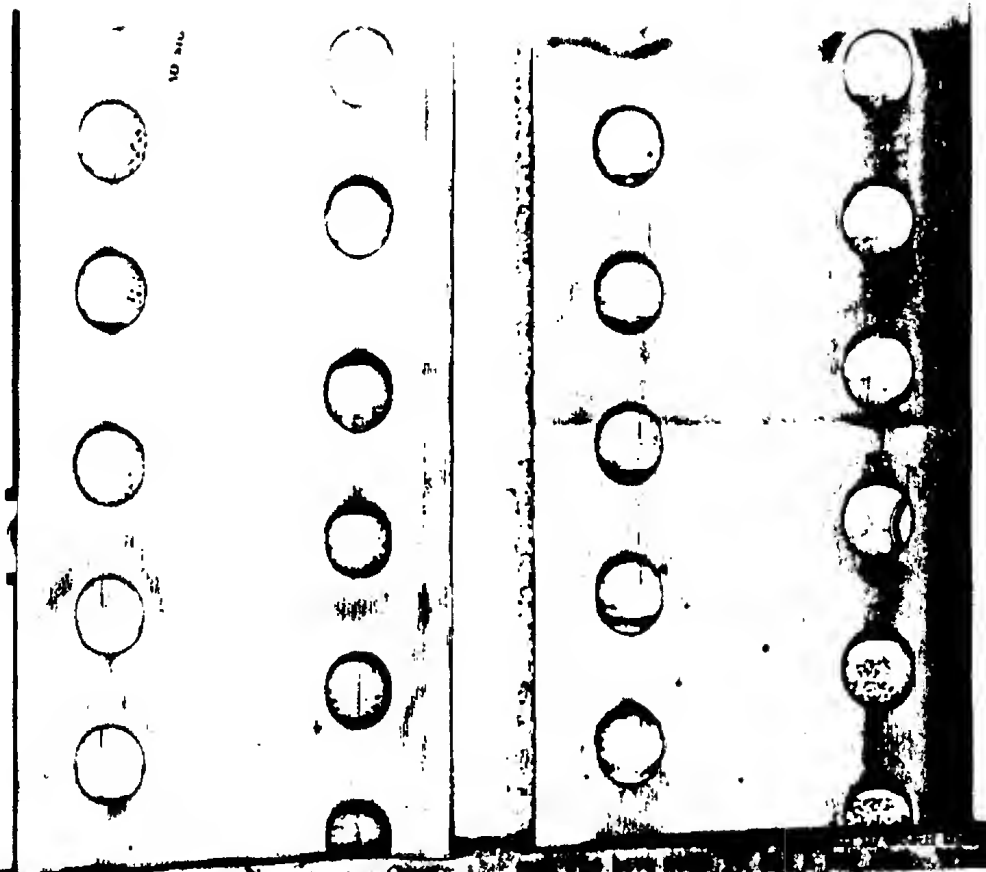
travesty of justice. It gives the strongest support yet offered of the theory that what has been seen is not justice but judicial murder.

WHAT can be said of the action of Judge Thayer in accepting this appointment? He knew that the whole world suspected him of prejudice. He knew that the question of his prejudice was the chief point at issue. He must have known, if he is capable of thought at all, that no man is competent to pass upon the question of his own prejudice. He knows that, throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, the traditions of the legal profession require a judge to step aside and let someone else pass upon such a delicate point. He ought to have known that, under the broadest and most lenient interpretation, the standards of honor of a gentleman made this imperative. He knew that news of such action would ring around the world as at least one decent and fair-minded act in the whole dark tragedy. Yet he in-



The Week

THE developments of Monday and Tuesday in the Sacco-Vanzetti case went further than anything else in the entire history of the case to support the contention of the defense that the system of justice of Massachusetts has broken down in regard to these two men. A motion for a new trial was made in the Superior Court; and Chief Justice W. P. Hall, in accordance, as he said, "with precedent, practice, and sound reason," assigned Judge Webster Thayer to pass upon the motion. The most important aspect of the case is, of course, the question whether Judge Thayer had previously exhibited prejudice and whether this prejudice had affected the course of justice. Not only did he preside at the trial, but he has seven times subsequently refused other motions for a new trial. Under the circumstances, for Justice Hall to insist that he should be the one to pass upon the question of his own prejudice—prejudice admitted even by the Governor's advisory committee to have existed before the trial was ended—constitutes a m[illegible]ous [illegible] be asked of the existence of prejudice on his part?

NOW that the Geneva conferees have failed to agree on any limitation of cruisers, what will happen if each nation takes seriously its experts' inflexible position as to its "necessities"? The United States will proceed to lay down 10,000-ton cruisers, costing over $10,000,000 apiece. How many? In view of the expected competition, Great Britain will not abandon any of the fourteen which she now has built, building or authorized, or the four more technically rated at slightly below this figure. We now have two such cruisers. Parity will, therefore, demand sixteen additional ones, or more, if Britain's program is enlarged. There goes at least $160,000,000 of the American taxpayers' money for construction alone, in the 10,000-cruiser competition. And also a large amount of Britain's money. We shall, moreover, have to build twenty or more of the lighter cruisers, if we are to equal Britain's status in this respect. But Britain, in that case, is likely to raise the bid on light cruisers. This

does not account for new and more powerful types of naval warships vaguely spoken of by the experts at the conference. Admiral Jones calls for a building program of ten new vessels a year for five years. Although the delegates said it was impossible to agree on limitation because the demands of their respective opponents were too large, the total of each navy is likely to be much larger than any maximum limitation suggested by either side at the conference. What the naval conferees have really put over on both peoples, unless those peoples take the wheel in their own hands, is a friendly agreement to build enormous and virtually unlimited navies.

AS the politicans reluctantly decide that President Coolidge means what he says and will not run next year, candidates suddenly begin to appear on every hand. It is generally understood that Mr. Hoover is the President's own choice, and a formidable organization is already hard at work on behalf of the Californian. Unluckily for Mr. Hoover, however, he is painfully unpopular with the politicians who dislike and distrust him on the excellent ground that in making appointments to office he might be influenced more by merit than by proper distribution of patronage. While Mr. Coolidge's endorsement is not without its value, the withdrawal of the President from the race has already, and enormously, deflated his influence. Of the oth[illegible]dates for the nomination, Speaker Long[illegible]s to be making little headway; Mr. L[illegible] only the discontent of the Middle-W[illegible]rs behind him, a force which is not o[illegible]alue to a candidate seeking to obtain th[illegible]ular Republican nomination, and one which is, moreover, likely to evaporate rapidly with even a single season of good [illegible]

peal to such persons as Mr. Mellon (who, while he benefits from the tariff, has other vast interests which are unaffected by it). The New Republic believes Mr. Dawes to be the most undesirable of all these candidates; but a realistic view of the situation compels the belief that he is an exceedingly strong contender.

IF the du Ponts, who control General Motors through a concentrated minority stock ownership, achieve control of United States Steel through stock purchases, there will be signalized the marriage of two of the most profitable corporations of the United States, each dominant in at least one major industry. The parent corporation, E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, is, in turn, dominant in a third industrial group. General Motors in 1926 had gross revenues of $1,000,000,000 and net profits of $180,000,000, while the U. S. Steel had gross revenues of $928,000,000 and net profits of $117,000,000. The domain ruled by these potentates of industry will include not only hundreds of mills and factories, but subsidiary mines, railroads, steamship lines and other properties, spattered all over the map of the United States, and even in many foreign countries. Literally hundreds of thousands of employees will be governed by them—for the most part under an unqualifiedly autocratic system of industrial administration. It is doubtful whether the Federal Trade Commission can find anything illegal in this development, unless it is carried further. The law does not forbid any conceivable concentration of stock ownership, so long as the separate concerns owned are not technically monopolistic, and do not engage in "unfair" trade practices. If United States Steel should give [illegible]

said he would not be a candidate, [illegible] years of age, and would be seventy-one on leaving office. A far more serious contender, undoubtedly, is General Dawes.

THE most important fact about any candidate for the Republican nomination in 1928 is the attitude of the leading bankers toward him; and Mr. Dawes is the strongest of all in this regard. American finance is at present divided into two camps; there is the high-tariff, manufacturing interest, largely centered in New England, whose views Mr. Coolidge usually reflects; and there is the international banking group, concerned about payments of foreign loans and, therefore, less parochial-minded. Mr. Coolidge has had some of the support of this latter element, largely through the personal admiration and friendship of Mr. Dwight Morrow of J. P. Morgan and Company; but logically he belongs in the other camp. General Dawes, however, as the supposed part-author of the Dawes Plan, as a member of the coterie of Chicago's leading bankers, and as a man with oil interests, makes a strong ap-

in their present form would not prevent [illegible] from owning the entire United States. They do not [illegible] many of the grave problems associated with the rapidly increasing concentration of industrial power.

IT was a foregone conclusion, after the conference of the central banking heads of New York, London, Berlin, and Paris, that either the New York rediscount rate would be lowered or the London rate would be raised. This was necessary to discourage the flow of gold from London to New York, since we have too much gold and England has too little. The decision to lower the rate here rather than to raise it abroad is somewhat embarrassing to the United States, but probably will prove less harmful to us than an increase in London would have proved to Britain. New York had hesitated to lower its rate because of the inflated values on the stock market and the large total of brokers' loans. It did not want to encourage further speculation for a rise. But the effect of changes in bank rates on specula-

tion is largely psychological, anyway, and the well known hesitation of the banking authorities, coupled with a dubious business outlook, widespread comment on the threatening total of brokers' loans, and the political uncertainty caused by Mr. Coolidge's withdrawal, furnish a psychological counter-check. Moreover, the loanable funds are so far in excess of the demand in industry generally that the market rates were sinking anyway. London, in turn, will profit from whatever encouragement may be furnished to her lagging business by an unchanged rate. Possibly an increase in both quarters may be made in the autumn, when the heaviest demand falls on our funds, for moving crops.

THE closing days of the career of General Leonard Wood were out of harmony with the fine achievements of his early manhood. The scandal regarding the financing of his boom in 1920, which put an end to his presidential aspirations, was followed by the disappointing episode of his work in the Philippines. He came to be so completely at loggerheads with the natives that the Philippine legislature refused to pass needed legislation, merely because he approved it, and the administration almost ceased to function. Regardless of the merits of any individual controversy, no one exercising authority such as that of the Governor General of the Philippines can afford to allow matters to get into such a position. It has been for some time an open political secret that President Coolidge was embarrassed by General Wood's actions, and wished to replace him by the author of the recent special report on the Philippines, Colonel Carmi Thompson of Ohio. General Wood, despite the series of accidents he had suffered, which had com-

however, [illegible] the problem of the labor press. It is e[illegible] a labor paper, but difficult to get an adequate circulation for it, on account of the richer means of other journals for interesting the public. The competition of the non-labor press is a more serious obstacle for the labor paper than actual censorship. Likewise, it is easy to operate a broadcasting station; but to attract the tuners-in may be difficult. The managers are fully aware of this problem, and expect to be able to present so varied and attractive a program that it can find an audience for what it wants to say.

TWO New York theater-ticket brokers have been sentenced to six months in jail for falsifying their tax returns; twenty-three others have been indicted, have confessed their guilt and thrown themselves on the mercy of the Federal Attorney. As many more are still in process of investigation to learn whether they have also been guilty of the extortionate charges and concealed profits which, it has been shown, were habitual with most of those already scrutinized. As a result of all this, we are assured, gouging has been done away with. Good seats are now to be available at not more than the conventional fifty cents advance. Moreover, the quality of the drama will be improved. Producers will no longer be able to force the agencies to buy seats for their bad shows in order to get an allotment for the good ones; and since the bad ones are thus deprived of support, the producers will take more pains to see that there are none.

THE short answer to these optimistic views is, "Poppycock!" It may be that the agencies can be forced to divide their [illegible]

health, was reluctant to be relieved of his post. The President, of course, has asserted that his death will bring no changes in the administration of the Philippines. But it is as sure as anything can be that extensive changes will be made, and that they will go far in the direction of conciliation of the Filipinos. Short, of course, of granting them the independence they desire, which the present administration does not propose to give.

IT is well that labor interests are to have a high-powered radio station of their own. The Debs Memorial Radio, station WDEBS, will operate on a 1,220 kilocycle and a 245.8 call length. It will attempt to present an impartial vehicle for all shades of labor and liberal opinion, and will prevent any threatened monopoly of the air by interests not sympathetic with labor. It was particularly important that this should be accomplished, since broadcasting waves are limited in [illegible]er and a real monopoly for one shade of [illegible] as possible, in a sense in which it is not possible with the press or with public meetings. A genuine problem remains,

[illegible] tax law; but the theory that these profits [illegible] limited to fifty cents a ticket is absurd. Such limitation was difficult to enforce even before the New York state law to that effect was unwisely declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. As long as ten people want to visit a success for every one who is willing to attend a failure, that difference in demand, by some hook or crook, will probably be reflected in the prices of tickets. As for the idea that producers put on inferior shows and force the agencies to support them, it seems to us as naive as the doctrine that cheap and popular novelists could write like Conrad if they chose, and only prostitute their art because there's money in it. If there is profit in producing a dull play, there is far more profit in producing a success. We believe that, like nearly all novelists and other artists, nearly all playwrights and managers do about as good work as they are capable of. If the result is mediocre, it is because those responsible for it are mediocre; and improvement will come only when our civilization is such as to demand a better quality of artistic endeavor.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Decision

THE result of Governor Fuller's inquiry in the Sacco-Vanzetti case bears out the worst fears of the defense, and of the vast number of men and women the world over who believe that the defendants have not been proved guilty of the crimes laid to their charge. These fears were based upon the limitations imposed on the inquiry by the personalities involved and the methods employed. The Governor asked the assistance of three gentlemen, well known in Boston, to conduct an independent review of the case and to decide whether, in their opinion, the trial was fairly conducted; whether the evidence subsequently discovered was such as to justify a new trial; whether they are convinced beyond reasonable doubt that Sacco and Vanzetti are guilty of murder. On all three points the Committee reported unanimously against the accused and in agreement with the Governor's own decision. Nevertheless, the unanimous opinion of these four men will not convince the world at large, much less those familiar with the case, that it is right and just to electrocute Sacco and Vanzetti without the retrial so earnestly sought by them.

Sacco and Vanzetti may have been put to death by the time this comment appears. At this writing, we can only express the fervent hope that an effort to bring the case up before the Supreme Court of the United States, under the "due [illegible] clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, [illegible] cessful. This clause is constantly and suc[illegible] in cases involving property. Twi[illegible] in[illegible]d in capital cases—once unsucc[illegible] the ca[illegible] Leo Frank in Georgia, once su[illegible]sfully in the [illegible] of Negroes tried and convi[illegible]

but scarcely the judicial mind, and his experience had been limited to the probate bench. President Lowell had received a lawyer's education, but his legal reputation rests upon a work on the law of stock transfers. The procedure set up by these gentlemen was anomalous. It amounted, in fact, to a retrial of the case in secret. The attorneys for the defense were present during the hearing of much of the testimony and permitted to cross-examine; but they were excluded during the appearance of the Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Perley Hall, the trial judge, Webster Thayer, and at one session with Mr. Katzmann, the prosecuting attorney. Inasmuch as the inquiry was particularly directed to the question of the fairness of the trial, it was an extraordinary proceeding to oblige the defense to argue the point without knowing what the testimony of the most important witness had been. A trial behind closed doors is repugnant to the common sense of fairness and justice. However nobly disinterested the judges may be, they cannot be trusted to work in darkness.

The report of the Committee to the Governor is convincing in its evidence of the unfitness of its members for their task and the ineptitude of their procedure. It is not too much to say that it reads like a persistent if maladroit attempt to defend the Massachusetts courts, now fully on trial.

A. The Committee labors at length over the cross-examination of Sacco by Katzmann on the subject of his radical views, concluding, because there was a technical excuse for this cross-examination, that the matter had no improper influence on the jury.

B. In the face of the original reason for the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti in the course of the round-up of radicals by Department of Justice men

proceedings, we submit that the reports of Governor Fuller and his Committee constitute a powerful argument in favor of the intervention of the Supreme Court.

The appointment of a committee to conduct an investigation had been recommended by friends of the defense, when it appeared that the judicial system of Massachusetts offered no opportunity for a new trial except by permission of the original judge. Inasmuch as the issue of class conflict had been injected into the trial, it was peculiarly unfortunate that all members of the Committee should be drawn from the class to which Sacco and Vanzetti were opposed, and of which many representatives had displayed violent prejudice against them. One of the three committeemen, Judge Grant, had given strong expression to his belief in the guilt of the accused, but explained it away when challenged as to the propriety of his sitting in the case. Most ominous of all was the fact that none of them was accustomed to the routine of judicial procedure, to dealing with evidence and winnowing truth from falsehood. Judge Grant had, indeed, the judicial title,

of them, the Committee declines to go to the records of the Department, on the ground that none of the affidavits "states or implies that there is anything in those files which would help to show that the defendants are not guilty." The point [illegible] affidavits make is that there was a concerted effort between national and local police to find them guilty.

C. In regard to the motion for a new trial, the Committee throws aside the affidavit of [illegible] the effect that Sacco was not present at the Braintree crime. Gould stood so near the shooting that a bullet passed through his coat. His testimony was known to the prosecution but not to the defense at the time of the trial. The Committee thinks that his evidence is "merely cumulative," and is balanced by that of Mrs. Hewins (who states that Sacco was driving the bandit car when it passed her house), and Mrs. Tattoni, who states that she saw him somewhere in South Braintree on the day of the crime. The Committee scrupulously records that Mrs. Tattoni is eccentric and not unimpeachable in conduct, but believes that "her testimony is well worth consideration."

D. The affidavit of Captain Proctor to the effect that his testimony at the trial, in regard to the bullet found in Berardelli's body and the pistol taken from Sacco, was the result of a question arranged with Katzmann to which he could answer: "My opinion is that it is consistent with being fired by that pistol," is, in the judgment of the Committee, negatived by the statement of the prosecuting attorneys, who deny that they made any effort to force his testimony. Also, the Committee remarks slyly that between the trial and the time of Proctor's affidavit, Mr. Katzmann had refused to approve Proctor's fee of $500 as expert. Affidavits of Hamilton and Field, to the effect that in conversation Proctor stated flatly that he did not hold the opinion that the bullet was fired from Sacco's pistol, the Committee refuses to believe. All this ambiguity about Proctor's testimony could have been set at rest at the hearing for a retrial if Judge Thayer had summoned Proctor, at that time still alive, in person, as urged by attorneys for the defense. Whether the Committee made any effort to discover why he refused does not appear in its report.

E. In considering the Madeiros confession, the Committee is moved to remark that, "strangely enough," he does not admit committing the murder himself, but only to being present. "If he were tried, his own confession, if wholly believed, would not be sufficient for a verdict of murder in the first degree." With unintentional humor, the Committee seems to imply that unless another confession is certain, the state had better hold [illegible] has. The exclusion of the Madeiros [illegible] because of his vagueness in regard to the [illegible] shows the persistent tendency of the Committee's thought. Others would find such vagueness perfectly natural in the case of a man who had assisted at a crime of which [illegible]

Committee buttresses its belief in Sacco's guilt by the fact that "he had a pistol which is admitted to be of the kind from which the fatal bullet was fired." However interesting this fact seems to the Committee, we submit that the important question before them was the use made of the testimony in regard to the pistol before the jury. The Committee struggled bravely with contradictory expert testimony, with the happy result that, "if we assume that all expert evidence on such subjects is *more or less unbelievable* [italics ours] we can be sure that the shot was fired by the kind of pistol in the possession of Sacco." Does the Committee actually believe that on the accumulation of such evidence two men should be executed?

G. In its treatment of the testimony in regard to Sacco's identification, the Committee is obviously trying to be fair. "He looks so much like one of the gang who committed the murder that a number of witnesses are sure that he is the man. Others disagree; but, at least, his general appearance is admitted to resemble one of the men who took part in the affair." The testimony showing that Sacco was in Boston on April 15, the Committee dismisses *in toto*, without a word as to its inherent credibility. It remarks that Vanzetti's alibi is decidedly weak. Mrs. Brini is dismissed because she "had already sworn to an alibi for him in the Bridgewater case." Well, what of it? Vanzetti was a fish peddler who necessarily saw the same customers day by day. On the other hand, four people swore that they had seen him in Braintree. The last of these, Faulkner, testified that he was asked a question by Vanzetti in a smoking car between Plymouth and South Braintree on the day of the murder. The Committee's treatment of this testimony is so extraordinary that it should be quoted

nesses were attended only by his personal counsel. This procedure was regarded with grave misgivings by the defense. The Governor, like his Committee, was unused to sifting evidence. The attempt to digest, without the check of judicial proceed e and cross-examination, the immense mass of m rial within the record and outside might well pause to infallibility. Nevertheless, the Gove went on with jaunty confidence in his own pow It is impossible to know precisely what he doing, as the proceedings were secret and no record kept. Nevertheless, it was possible to learn in some cases what he did, and in many cases what he did not do, in the course of his effort to embrace within his mind the whole material. Specific notes showing his method of investigation and its reference to the mass of evidence available are published in our article, "Was Governor Fuller Fair?" The Governor's own statement in rendering his decision, however, is sufficient to prove that his study of the case, however diligent, was superficial, and his understanding of it appallingly naive. His tone is in marked contrast to the fumbling style of the Committee. It suggests still more plausibly that his mind was made up in advance, and incapable of penetration by facts. For example:

A. The Governor shows either prejudice or extraordinary incompetence to judge evidence, in misrepresenting Sacco's alibi. On his arrest, he was asked where he was on a certain day some three weeks before, and replied that he was at work, as indeed had been the case on all surrounding dates. His subsequent recollection of being in Boston on April 15 was supported not only by an employee in the Italian consulate, as mentioned by the Governor, but also by the men who ate luncheon with Sacco on that day. This alibi was closely scrutinized

d shipment of a cask of eels on D , and the express company's receipt o ivery. The Governor continued to reject e testimony of Vanzetti's customers. They were still Italians.

C. Whole areas of testimony were apparently entirely overlooked by the Governor. There were, for example, the records of police inquiries immediately after the crimes were committed, and especially reports of Pinkerton detectives who examined promptly the witnesses in both cases. These latter reports were not available until recently, too late to be used in any of the previous motions for a new trial, and are in themselves sufficient to justify it. They show that the identifications obtained from government witnesses at the trial, in the presence of the accused, were largely discredited by descriptions previously given. (See testimony of Splaine, Cox, Harding, etc., cited in "Was Governor Fuller Fair?")

D. Another area of testimony which the Governor left unexplored was that of the records of the Department of Justice. He apparently took no account of the origin of the case in the pursuit of a group of Italian anarchists by Department of Justice men, the arrest of Salsedo and his mysterious death while in the custody of the Department, the activity of Sacco and Vanzetti in behalf of Salsedo and the consequent effort to "get" them. Officials then in the employ of the Department have made affidavits with reference to the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti. The defense had requested the Attorney General for permission to inspect the files of his department for documents in corroboration of these affidavits and had been refused. It is understood that the Governor was given this permission, but declined to avail himself of it. At least he

[illegible] religious persecution. The recent conciliatory attitude of the government toward the Church, if sincere, comes at an opportune moment. Following sensational disclosures (which were hastily hushed up) that subordinate civil and military police had been arresting, fleeing and robbing well known Catholics, even to the extent of carrying off valuable articles from their homes, Calles wisely has ordered all *sediciosos*, who had been sent without trial to the terrible tropic penal islands, Islas Marias, to be restored to their homes; also that all Catholics under arrest—from whom officials have been attempting to extort fabulous sums—should be released. Talk is now rife that a *modus vivendi* will soon make possible resumption of religious services. Such a reversal of tactics, now that revolt has been sternly crushed, would rob Gómez of armed Catholic support and facilitate the success of Obregón.

II

The w[illegible] and d[illegible] as "[illegible] In [illegible] The [illegible]

B. As to Vanzetti, the Governor [illegible] had "previously been tried before another jury" for the Bridgewater hold-up, apparently not realizing that this, like the Braintree crime, was attached to Vanzetti after his arrest on other grounds. He expresses belief in the witnesses who identified Vanzetti as the Bridgewater criminal. The dozen alibi witnesses who testified that they had bought fish from Vanzetti on December 24, the day of the crime, were discredited, in the eyes of the court, at the original trial. They were Italians, and the fact that they all testified to buying eels was regarded as evidence of collusion. The Governor obviously took the same view. He put upon the defense an extraordinary burden of proof when he pointed out that, though these witnesses testified to having bought eels from Vanzetti on the day in question, there was no evidence that Vanzetti had had any eels to sell. Thereupon, at the last minute, the defense discovered with which of the Italian merchants in Boston Vanzetti had dealings, and produced a record in a ledger six years old,

[illegible] position than in 1917;

"Non-retroactivity of Article 27"—actually a complete capitulation to the oil companies, hence a legalization of existing bad titles, hence—since Doheny is the leading producer—a bowing of the neck to the Teapot Dome protagonists;

"Collaboration of classes"—the emasculation of Article 123 of the Constitution, which provides Mexico with a modern labor code, and the stringent curtailment of labor activities.

The military forces in Vera Cruz under Gómez, have, in fact, systematically broken strikes and murdered leaders. It was Gómez who, in the face of court restraining injunctions, arbitrarily sent a prominent Vera Cruz leader to be deported to Guatemala, thus usurping a presidential prerogative. And it is freely rumored that favored Vera Cruz oil companies have contributed heavily to his campaign funds.

In spite of Gómez' smoke-screen of "No re-[illegible]" and the tears shed over the tomb of [illegible]o, a c[illegible] the postulates noted [illegible] illegal imprisonment, and possibly the torture and murder of one of them. Perhaps the Governor would not have been so shocked as he was at finding the original story of Sacco and Vanzetti "a tissue of lies."

The application to the United States Supreme Court is based upon the refusal of the state authorities to grant a retrial in the face of the immense amount of new evidence which has become available. This evidence has never been considered as a whole in its bearing on the case. The defense has never had an opportunity to present its case properly with all the facts assembled. The failure of Governor Fuller and his Committee to afford this opportunity is obvious.

Apart from the strictly legal aspect of the case, there are reasons of wider and deeper significance for desiring the intervention of the Court. The case has become an international concern; it has become a symbol of the tension between classes,

and a test of the good faith of the class in power. This was inevitable from its origin. As we have pointed out, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested as revolutionists: they were occupied with plans and efforts toward what the whole country had recently announced as its solemn purpose—the making of a better world. They did not believe in the method which the country adopted—that of war. The country did not believe in the method which they urged—the gradual abolition of private property and government. There was inevitable antagonism. This was emphasized by the conduct of the trial, and especially by the violent utterances of the trial judge outside the court. Governor Fuller may honestly believe that the animus shown by Judge Thayer in boasting of what he would do to the "anarchistic bastards" was not incompatible with scrupulous fairness on the bench. The world will never believe it. The unconcealed hostility of people of the upper class, demanding in some cases the blood of these men whether guilty or not, has charged the case with the deadliest social poison. The appointment, as an antidote, of a committee composed solely of this class was a measure unworthy of even a mediocre mind. The Governor may honestly believe that Lowell, Stratton and Grant are men "whose reputation for intelligence, open-mindedness, intellectual honesty and good judgment were [sic] above reproach," and this being the case that their verdict would [illegible] "conscientious men and women who were [illegible] troubled about the guilt or innocence of [illegible] and the fairness of the trial." Such [illegible] the tragically parochial quality of hi[illegible] The world will never share it. If anything [illegible] needed further to arouse class feeling and to provoke reprisals it is the flood of comment upon the Gov[illegible]

this is a matter of the highest expediency. Such a polity does prevail with respect to the upper classes, but does not include the poor.

One privilege, indeed, Sacco and Vanzetti have had, that of attracting a devotion and loyalty on the part of their own class, and of individuals in a class not their own, such as appears only once in a generation. It is impossible to speak without emotion of the six years of devoted service to their cause of Mrs. Glendower Evans, of the defense committee, of their former counsel, Messrs. Thompson and Ehrmann, and lately of Mr. Arthur D. Hill, undertaken for no reward, merely to provide these men with a fair trial and to save the state of Massachusetts from guilt. If anything can serve to abate the bitter class feeling in this case and to disarm the spirit which would meet chicane with violence, it is the honorable example of these men and women of whom humanity may be proud.

Mr. Coolidge Retires

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S decision not to run again is the most important and statesmanlike act of his whole career. We say this on the assumption, which we feel is entirely justified, that he meant what he said, and will resist the pressure from his political associates to withdraw his announcement and consent to be drafted, "because of overwhelming demand." We think too little has been made of the fact that his statement came exactly four years after he assumed office on the death of President Harding. Clearly, he chose what he regards as the end of his first four-year term to announce that he will not seek to remain in office longer than has any other President in our

[illegible] which reflects the [illegible] of [illegible] the complacency of self-righteousness, and the sort of wisdom which identifies the safety of society with vengeance against individuals.

Another phase of the case in its international aspect is the belief current in Europe that the accused were condemned as foreigners. The Journal de Genève for July 21 declares:

> Everything indicates that Sacco and Vanzetti have been condemned not as assassins but as revolutionists. . . . One cannot escape the impression that they have been condemned, and this is more serious still, as Italians. It is inconceivable that they could have been treated as they have been if they had been American citizens. Public opinion would not have allowed it. But it is unfortunately too true that in America the poor emigrants are often considered as human beings of the second class.

No one will deny that among enlightened nations a polity should prevail which should give to each other's nationals treatment of the most favored sort. In a world of exacerbated national feeling

[illegible] to suppose that he said "No," hoping to be persuaded to say "Yes."

In making his decision, the President's motives were doubtless mixed. It is reported on good authority that Mrs. Coolidge has recently grown apprehensive about the effect on her husband's health of another quadrennium in the White House, despite the fact that, thus far, the presidency has agreed with him. She looks at the record, which shows only one living ex-President, although three other men might well have been expected to live until the present time. Even more important, no doubt, has been the effect on the President himself of the type of argument reported by our Washington correspondent in his despatch last week—a despatch which, written, of course, before Mr. Coolidge's announcement, has turned out to be uncannily prophetic. It is almost certain that the country could be made to accept another four years of Mr. Coolidge; but, in the phrase of the Springfield Republican, he would be "sullenly accepted," and that fact would make more likely a complete

reversal in 1932 and the seating of a President who would be, from the standpoint of the average Republican, dangerously radical. Mr. Coolidge's summer experience has doubtless contributed to reinforce this argument. He has not had a happy vacation. The flare-back from the ridiculous publicity to which he has been subjected has been enough to dishearten even a less sensitive man. The effort to placate the disaffected farmers by camping among them for a time has failed dismally, as should have been foreseen.

Most important of all, undoubtedly, is the fact, of which Mr. Coolidge cannot fail to be aware, that a tide of protest is rising against even a fractional third term, such as would be embraced in the proposed period in office of nine years and seven months. The respect for the two-term tradition is strongest, it must be remembered, among the very people with whom Mr. Coolidge generally finds himself in agreement. It is the sort of tradition which makes an especial appeal to his own temperament. It should not surprise us, then, that on sober reflection he decided not to take a course which in his own mind had in its favor nothing but expediency, and even then without any guarantee as to the result.

The New Republic has disagreed and still disagrees with Mr. Coolidge as to many of his major policies. We do not propose here to discuss his retirement from office in the light of that disagreement. We believe that, regardless of personality or policies, the decision to maintain the tradition against serving longer than eight years is a wise one. Needless to say, we do not hold this view because of the mere existence of the tradition as such. It is quite true that Washington, when he refused to serve more than twice, was actuated at least in

who, directly or indirectly, depend upon for their bread and butter. This is the which makes a second reflection undesirable, regardless of the length of time the President would serve, whether twelve years or ten or eight and a fraction. It is regrettable that any President should even once use this tremendous political leverage—as he must do, in some degree, whether he wishes to or not; and to use it twice would be so much more serious that it would constitute a national calamity.

Defenders of the third term often assert that there may once have been danger of a dictatorship or the creation of a monarchy in this country, but that no apprehension on this score need any longer be felt. While this may be technically true, we have, in fact, already reached a condition which has many of the same undesirable features. Not only is it a fact, as we have pointed out, that the responsibilities of the Executive have steadily increased; but the degree to which the public has come to regard him as the sign and symbol of authority has increased even faster. One of the major phenomena of our times is the growing desire of the people to find someone upon whose shoulders they can lay their burdens, even though these shoulders may be, demonstrably, pathetically narrow ones. This process is accelerated by the deification of the President by the press, its general unwillingness, even when it speaks for the opposite political party, to puncture the myth of omniscience. The glorification of the Executive began, in its present exaggerated phase, with President Wilson during the War. It was still more characteristic of the administration of Mr. Harding, and has reached its climax in the case of Mr. Coolidge. This attitude, even when it is not deliberately created for sinister purposes, is

[illegible] personal [illegible] ons a century and a quarter ago differed so materially from those of today that they do not afford an important parallel. In this case, however, the march of events has given new and better reasons for the maintenance of the rule, rather than the reverse.

During the history of this nation the presidency has grown enormously in importance as compared with the other branches of the government. There is an increasing tendency to delegate more authority and responsibility to the Chief Executive, and while there are recessions in this movement, they fall far short of offsetting the general trend. One result of this is the fact, so often noted, that any President, under what are now "normal" circumstances, can force his renomination, at the end of his first term. Not only does he, by means of federal patronage, create a huge per[illegible] machine which is almost irresistible in the con[illegible], but he is the head of his party, and the whi[illegible]ization stands or falls by his success or failure. [illegible] through this control of political machinery, there is an inevitable unholy alliance between the President and the thousands of [illegible] who is its occasion. Every eight years is [illegible] often to interrupt this process and begin gilding [illegible] new idol. For this, above all other reasons, we feel the two-term tradition deserves support; and whether he was consciously motivated by this reason or not, Mr. Coolidge, by deciding to adhere to it, has done the country a great service.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Mexico's Coming Election

THE government is boxing up the National Palace to ship it to Sonora." Such was the current jest last year in Mexico City, when, to add a third story, boards and scaffolding were placed about the pink-stone façade of the historic edifice which, for three and a half centuries, has housed the major official activities of Colony and Republic. For the state of Sonora rules Mexico.

Ever since 1914, when the victorious army of Obregón swept down from the Northwest across Nayarit and Jalisco to the capital, the super-men of Sonora have dominated national affairs. To-day, thirteen years after bloody Huerta's ill-starred attempt to turn back the wheels, the three presidential candidates—Alvaro Obregón, Francisco Serrano, and Arnulfo Gómez—are all natives of that state. Likewise, in 1923, the three candidates—Plutarco Elías Calles, Angel Flores (of Sinaloa), and Adolfo Huerta—were from the Northwest. Go into any governmental department today: if the head is not a Sonorense, the assistant usually is, and numerous subordinates. In the later days of Rome, the Cæsars came from north of the Alps at the head of victorious legions; so in modern Mexico the latest rulers hail from the Northwest. Just as half a century ago, Porfirio Díaz rode into thirty years of power on the shoulders of the fierce Indians from the Oaxacan Sierras, so at the beginning of the present epoch, the leaders of Sonora whirled down the Paseo de la Reforma to the old [illegible] and to victory at the head of serried ranks

His plight attests the feebleness of the popular political and social agencies flowering from the 1910 overthrow, agencies which this same regime has cultivated with great care. Serrano and Gómez, to satisfy inflated ambitions and salvage the one abstraction—"no reëlection"—are willing to concede all to the Church and adventurous foreign capital. Beginning with Carranza, and even more sharply defined in 1920 under Obregón, social and economic changes have come, ousted stereotyped political formulas. That the Madero "no reëlection" slogan has faded on the walls of history is a minor source of woe compared to the fact that the popular social forces which deepened their channel, during the struggle against Huerta, must still water the roots of personal military ambitions and dissipate themselves in the marsh of armed conflict. The shift of emphasis from social principles and organized social control back to that of *caudillismo*, to the one-man rule, to Obregón, "the great chief," "the captain who has never lost a battle," represents dangerous retrogression. Yet only thus, it seems, is the Revindicating movement able to survive the scramble of selfish ambitions—by the imposition of the super-ambition. Instead, this election may ring the death-knell of an era and herald a new period either of dictatorship or of armed disintegration.

I shall not trace here the various evolving democratic tendencies—the growth of labor and peasant organizations, the increasing attention to education, the development of cooperative enterprises, the

Catholic boycott has not made much dent. Eighty percent of the Mexican people has been obliged to observe a perpetual "luxury boycott" since the dawn of history; and in a moment of declining revenues and exports, in a period of readjustment to new laws, such a boycott—to the slight extent to which it has been effective—has probably been rather beneficial.

More serious is the fact that the cessation of religious masses has, in many villages, discouraged the Sunday market-days which were so stimulating to rural intercourse. Also, punitive army tactics in Jalisco and Colima have left one of the richest agri-

had led a gang of soldiers, whether to wreck order for personal ambition or to fight for ideals. The convention, with its 1,700 bureaucratic delegates, was a conglomerate of has-beens, a motley collection of ex-supporters of Díaz, Madero, Carranza, De la Huerta, and Catholic revolt—each group had to have its martyrs. But the flaunting of such names is an augury of early revolution.

The assemblage included in its program the following:

"Religious freedom," meaning—as accompanying speeches disclose—an immediate nullification of existing religious laws and the amending of the 1917

It was his energy in 1920 which broke the De la Huerta advance on two fronts. As a civil official, Obregón has been a balance-of-power man rather than a single-track, non-compromiser like Calles. If his administration—more tolerant than that of Calles—allowed for freer development of popular initiative and organization, nevertheless it bequeathed serious conflicts to his successor. Obregón played civil and military ambitions against each other; he jockeyed for the support of not one, but several labor groups; he was genial about the use of public funds; he compromised heavily with the United States and did not enforce the Church provisions of the Constitution. Calles, in contrast, has raised nonentities and rubber-stamps to cabinet positions, better to dictate general policy, has even crowded out capable and honest personalities, such as Dr. Manuel Gamio, Governor Aurelio Manrique, Ramón P. de Negri and José Vasconcelos; he has built his labor policy on the Regional Confederation of Labor (C. R. O. M.), led by Luis N. Morones, permitting rival organizations to be harassed and strangled; he has attempted, with indifferent success, to purge the army and inspire its *tuchuns* with national loyalty; he has rigorously and systematically built up a codification of the 1917 constitution, thus precipitating anew conflicts with the Church and the United States; he has stood like a growling watch-dog at the gates of public expenditure; and has proved, if not in the game of politics, in the work of sound reconstruction, far more practical than Obregón. Furthermore, it must be confessed that Obregón, though making land-distribution the main plank of his present platform, is today the largest land-holder in the republic; that his monopoly of the [illegible] and other crops has ruined small [illegible] that his [illegible] retary of War under Obregón and helped put down De la Huerta. Early in the Calles administration, Serrano was sent to Europe to study the military systems and purchase army supplies. Returning, he was named Governor of the Federal District, soon becoming notorious for the gambling dives he countenanced and for other personal irregularities. The word went around, however, that he was being groomed for the presidency as Obregón's official candidate. It is now evident that Obregón egged him on to a premature announcement, using him as a stalking-horse to sound public opinion and divide opposition. Serrano is resentful; heated words have passed. Now, parleys between Gómez and Serrano promise a new nominating convention in November to choose the more popular or else an agreeable third substitute. In case of successful revolution by the No-reëlectionists, rumor slates Serrano to finish out Calles' term and call elections to put Gómez into office.

III

The Mexican Labor party, the political expression of the CROM headed by Luis N. Morones, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, does not hold its nominating convention until September. The *Grupo Acción*, the inner clique of twenty leaders, all of whom have fat government jobs, made the mistake of starting out months ago to flirt with Serrano. But Serrano has broken with Obregón; Serrano has gathered, as a result of his overtures to Gómez, reactionary opprobrium; and as the *Grupo Acción* is on exceedingly cool terms with Obregón, who has surrounded himself with bitter anti-CROM elements, the Labor party is completely isolated. Instead of candidates bidding for its support, its role has become that of the scorned Seanchan on the threshold of King Obregón. Like every other civil

volt; and that Sonora is one of the most backward entities with respect to the application of the agrarian laws.

Obregón bases his support (1) on the peasants, largely outside the CROM; he has already received the nomination of the National Agrarian party, headed by Soto y Gama, former associate of Zapata, and of the newer National Peasants League, claiming three hundred thousand members; (2) on the workers, from whom he has received only local nominations; (3) on the railway employees (evidently not workers), whose cause he espouses because of the attempts of the CROM to destroy their organization; (4) and on the middle class. He promises to support the Church and international policies of Calles. In addition, Obregón has the full support of the Senate and most of the Chamber. He is most popular in Sonora and in the Maya southeast, Yucatán and adjacent states. A number of governors, Portes Gil of Tamaulipas and Margarito Ramírez of Jalisco, etc., swear by him.

The third candidate, Francisco Serrano, was Sec- a general.

Only one other course remains—participation in a new and as yet unformed labor-military electoral bloc, supporting still a fourth candidate—improbable but not at all impossible. Such a bloc, secretly supported by Calles, possibly including Morones, Gasca (Governor of Guanajuato), Tejeda, (Minister of Interior), who has much influence among the peasants; possibly Amarao (Secretary of War), and other powerful army chiefs, might draw Serrano away from Gómez and precipitate an entirely new set of possibilities. As yet, there is no positive indication of such a regrouping, and in any event, the army would still be the decisive factor. But, in case of grave disorder, a dictatorship by Calles might result.

No absolute estimate of how the army strength is distributed among the three candidates now in the field can be made; nor would such an estimate be final, owing to the proverbial treachery of the commanders and to the possible emergence of the military-labor bloc just suggested. Nevertheless, even

in the present unripe stage of the campaign, some definite, and I believe, fairly permanent, alignments can be discerned.

Two military campaigns have just been waged: one with the Sonora Yaquis, the other with the Jalisco Catholics. The Yaqui struggle announced a partial defection of the very elements that had previously provided cannon-fodder for the Sonora dictatorship; yet the Yaquis themselves have been divided: a strong corps of disciplined fighters has remained loyal to Obregón. The Yaqui campaign itself, largely a farce, has served as an excuse to pour soldiers, ammunition, supplies and money into the Northwest. This influx began shortly before the Catholic situation became acute, placing Obregón in a position to confront any emergency. General Manzo, Sonora division commander, is a thoroughly-tested Obregonista; his relatives have occupied high lucrative posts. The governor, young General Topete, equally loyal, was very active in putting down De la Huerta. The state of Sinaloa, first door south of Sonora, is fairly Obregónista. Next, the Catholic War in Jalisco, exacerbated by the very militarists and politicians of the government, threw a formidable body of troops, supplies, money and power to General Ferreira, pronouncedly pro-Obregón. Equally strong for Obregón are J. Guadalupe Zuno, ex-governor and political boss of Jalisco, (nicknamed "The Little Obregón"), and the present Governor Margarito Ramírez, an ex-rail employee, who in 1920 helped Obregón (under arrest in Mexico City) to escape in a caboose to Balsas in Guerrero to raise the banner of revolt against Carranza. All these elements are bitterly antagonistic to the CROM, but they insure Obregón a clear military lane down the west coast and through Jalisco to the capital—his old 1914 route—rier to an advance south into Central Mexico by the non-Obregón troops would be General Saturnino Cedillo, founder of the noted cooperative military colonies on the Rio Verde, now commandant of San Luis Potosí. Some months ago, it was he who, debouching out of his legitimate field of operations, attacked and killed the Catholic general Gallegos. Strategically, San Luis Potosí is the key state in the north central plateau: 65,600 square kilometers, 600,000 inhabitants, rather arid and precipitous, it commands both trunk railway lines into the United States and the communications with Tamaulipas.

The attempts of Gómez to control Vera Cruz would be nullified by Tejeda, Minister of Interior and former governor, and by the present Governor Heriberto Jara, both of whom are fairly popular with the peasants whom Gómez has terrorized. Also pro-Obregón military, labor, and peasant forces in the state of Puebla bar Gómez in that quarter. Thus Obregón counts on an open military corridor from the Northwest to the capital, which, in turn, is protected by checks against the Gómistas and Serranistas in San Luis Potosí, Guanajuato (Governor Gasca), Vera Cruz, Puebla and other southern states, but he cannot count on the capital itself. On the other hand, should the fourth electoral bloc I have suggested spring into being, then Obregón would remain with his open corridor, but would probably lose Cedillo, Tejeda, Gasca, Jara; and the new grouping might include Caraveo of Chihuahua and Martínez of the Valley of Mexico.

Some unforeseen contingency, such as a land-slide to Obregón, or the assassination of one of the candidates, may change the whole face of the map and even obviate armed violence. But, at present, the stage is rapidly being set for a new military adventure, in which principles and civil democratic organ-

to the center of the Republic, less easily blocked than the steep climb up the Vera Cruz escarpment; and, once Nayarit has been crossed, with fewer mountain barriers than the ascent from the north. On the other hand, General Eugenio Martínez, next to Obregón the ablest tactician in the army, is reputed to be a Serrano supporter, and is in charge of the forces of the Valley of Mexico. Calles recently attempted to replace him with General Escobar, a tried friend of the administration, but the shift was never made. Also, it is asserted, Calles, with equally poor success, tried to send Martínez to Europe. It was General Martínez who is supposed to have reconciled Serrano and Gómez, getting them to promise to fuse their campaigns by next November. The rest of the northern frontier states are apparently controlled by Gómez and Serrano generals—states indispensable for successful revolution. Recently General Marcelo Caraveo, a Serrano supporter, staged a *coup d'état*, drove out the Obregón governor, took over local affairs into his own hands and refused to come to the capital to consult with President Calles. The one outstanding military bar-

coat-tails of paternal generals [illegible] children in a theater fire—in danger of being trampled in the stampede.

CARLETON BEALS

The Condemned

August 3, 1927

Once you have killed these men, destroy their fame
And beat utterly and hide all vestiges
Of their existence. Let only nothingness
Remain of what your prisoners have been.
Permit their friends no grave to lay their lie,
Erase their writings and their likenesses,
Forbid their names in all assemblages;
Cause them to be unmentionable sin.

For if anyone do stack to attend their fame,
It would seem not them but you yourselves [illegible]
And looking on their libraries he would see
Not them in prison-cells but you and me—
And would find recorded on their graveyard stone
That the death we meant for them became our own.

WITTER BYNNER.

Life Itself

ONE could wish that the psychoanalysts would go into the question of diary-keeping. For often it is the one mysterious fact in a life otherwise as clear as the sky and as candid as the dawn. Parson Woodforde is a case in point—his diary* is the only mystery about him. For forty-three years he sat down almost daily to record what he did on Monday and what he had for dinner on Tuesday, but for whom he wrote or why he wrote it is impossible to say. He does not unburden his soul in his diary; yet it is no mere record of engagements and expenses. As for literary fame, there is no sign that he even thought of it, and, finally, though the man himself is peaceable above all things, there are little indiscretions and criticisms which would have got him into trouble and hurt the feelings of his friends had they read them. What purpose, then, did the sixty-eight little books fulfill? Perhaps it was the desire for intimacy. When James Woodforde opened one of his little manuscript books, he entered into conversation with a second James Woodforde who was not quite the same as the reverend gentleman who visited the poor and preached in the church. These two friends said much that all the world might hear; but they had a few secrets which they shared with each other only. It was a great comfort, for example, that Christmas when Nancy, Betsy, and Mr. Walker seemed to be in conspiracy against him, to exclaim in the diary, "The treatment I meet with for my Civility this Christmas is to me abominable." The second James Woodforde sympathized and agreed. Again, when a stranger abused his [illegible]ity, it was a relief to [illegible] other self [illegible] day when they thought themselves unobserved. It is not reading, it is ruminating.

James Woodforde, then, was one of those smooth-cheeked, steady-eyed men, demure to look at, whom we can never imagine except in the prime of life. He was of an equable temper, with only such acerbities and touchinesses as are generally to be found in those who have had a love affair in their youth and remained, as they fancy, unwed because of it. The Parson's love affair, however, was nothing very tremendous. Once, when he was a young man in Somerset, he liked to walk over to Shepton and to visit a certain "sweet tempered" Betsy White who lived there. He had a great mind "to make a bold stroke" and ask her to marry him. He went so far, indeed, as to propose marriage "when opportunity served" and Betsy was willing. But he delayed; time passed; four years passed indeed, and Betsy went to Devonshire, met a Mr. Webster who had five hundred pounds a year and married him. When James Woodforde met them in the Turnpike Road he could say little, "being shy," but to his diary he remarked—and this, no doubt, was his private version of the affair ever after—"she has proved herself to me a mere jilt."

But he was a young man then, and as time went on we cannot help suspecting that he was glad to consider the question of "bold strokes" and marriage shelved for once and for all, so that he might settle down with his niece, Nancy, at Weston Longueville, and give himself simply and solely every day and all day to the great business of living. What else to call it we do not know. James Woodforde was nothing in particular. Life had it all [illegible] with him. He had no special gift, he

black patch upon a fair Lady's face." The words themselves are mild enough, but they hang over the undulating expanse of the Parson's prose with the resplendence of the star itself. Less effects have been achieved with greater efforts. So, in the fen country, a barn or a tree appears twice its natural size against the surrounding flats. But what led him to this palpable excess, that summer's night, we do not know. It cannot have been that he was drunk. He spoke out too roundly against such failings in his brother Jack to have been guilty himself. Jack was the wild one of the family. Jack drank at the Catherine Wheel. Jack came home and had the impudence to defend suicide to his old father. James himself drank his pint of port, but he was a man who liked his meat. When we think of the Woodfordes, uncle and niece, we think of them, as often as not, waiting with some impatience for their dinner. They gravely watch the joint set upon the table; they swiftly get their knives and forks to work upon the succulent leg or loin, and, without much comment, unless a word is passed about the gravy or the stuffing, go on eating. They munch day after day, year after year, until they have devoured herds of sheep and oxen, flocks of poultry, an odd dozen or so of swans and cygnets, bushels of apples and plums, while the pastries and the jellies crumble and squash beneath their spoons in mountains, in pyramids, in pagodas. Never was there a book so stuffed with food as this one is. To read the bill of fare, respectfully set forth almost every day, gives one a sense of repletion. It is as if one had lunched at Simpson's daily for a week. Trout and chicken, mutton and peas, pork and apple sauce—so the joints succeed each other at dinner, and there is supper, with more joints still to come, all, no doubt, home grown and of the juiciest and sweetest; all cooked, often by the mistress herself.

He was too fond of his ease, and too shrewd a judge of the values of things to be much troubled with snobbery; he much preferred the quiet of his own fireside to adventuring after dissipation abroad. If an old man brought a Madagascar monkey to the door, or a Polish dwarf or a balloon was being shown at Norwich, the Parson would go and have a look at them, and be free with his shillings, but he was a quiet man, a man without ambition, and it is more than likely that his niece found him a little dull. It is the niece Nancy, to speak plainly, who makes us uneasy. There are the seeds of domestic disaster in her character, unless we mistake. It is true that on the afternoon of April 27, 1780, she expressed a wish to read Aristotle's philosophy, which Miss Millard had got of a married woman; but she is a stolid girl; she eats too much, she grumbles too much and she takes too much to heart the loss of her red box. No doubt she was sensible enough; we will not blame her for being "pert and saucy," or for losing her temper at cards, or even for hiding the parcel that came by post when her uncle longed to know what was in it, and had never done such a thing by her. But, when we compare her with Betsy Davy, we realize that one human being has only to come into the room to raise our spirits, and another sets us on edge merely by the way she blows her nose. Betsy, the daughter of that frivolous wanton, Mrs. Davy, who fell downstairs the day Miss Donne swallowed the barley corn with its stalk, Betsy, the shy little girl, Betsy livening up and playing with the Parson's wig, Betsy falling in love with Mr. Walker, Betsy receiving the present of a fox's brush from him, Betsy compromising her reputation with a scamp, Betsy bereaved of him—for Mr. Walker died at the age of twenty-three and was buried in a plain coffin—Betsy left, it is to be feared, in a very scandalous condition

men. It is we who change and perish. It is the Kings and Queens who lie in prison. It is the great towns that are ravaged with anarchy and confusion. But the river Wensum still flows; Mrs. Custance is brought to bed of yet another baby; there is the first swallow of the year. The spring comes and summer with its hay and its strawberries; then autumn when the walnuts are exceptionally fine, though the pears are poor; so we lapse into winter which is indeed boisterous, but the house, thank God, withstands the storm; and then again there is the first swallow, and Parson Woodforde takes his greyhounds out to coursing.

VIRGINIA WOOLF.

Was Governor Fuller Fair?

As a result of the failure of the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts to provide for a complete review of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the inquiry of the Governor and his Commission took the place of the retrial so earnestly demanded by the defense, and becomes properly the subject of such criticism as would be shown to signal errors and lapses in regular judicial proceedings. It is unfortunate that the Governor chose to conduct his proceedings in secret and without the assistance and safeguards of cross-examination. From what transpired in regard to these proceedings, the friends of the accused men became doubtful of the competence of the Governor to control single-handed the immense mass of material accumulated in the case; and certain notes were drawn up to bring to his attention his failure to make use of certain available sources of evidence. In particular, the importance of the police investigations shortly after the crime, of the preliminary hearings respectively at Brockton and Quincy, and, above all, of the reports of the Pinkerton agency, which investigated both the Bridgewater and South Braintree crimes, is stressed. These contain descriptions of the criminals as given by witnesses immediately after the crimes [illegible] of the notes below on [illegible] of Harding, Cox, Splaine, Wade and Pelser. A second failure on the part of the Governor to use evidence available was his disregard of the files of the Department of Justice as to the activities of their agents in the spring of 1920. And, finally, the experience of certain witnesses before the Governor, such as Richards and Benchley, casts grave doubt on his mental and temperamental fitness for the part he assumed. We publish these reports in the form in which they were drawn up during the investigation.

FRANK W. HARDING. Governor Fuller has interviewed Frank W. Harding, a most important witness for the government at the trial of Vanzetti at Plymouth. We are informed that he has indicated that he places credence in Harding's identification, remarking, "Why, he was right there on the street and saw him. How could he be mistaken?"—meaning, we assume, that he saw the bandit, whom he identified some four months later as Vanzetti.

If Governor Fuller has placed [illegible] identification, we must respectfully submit that it [illegible] in the absence of any knowledge as to Harding's history in the Vanzetti case.

The testimony of Harding at the Plymouth trial—his description of the moustache worn by the man with the shotgun, whom he identified as Vanzetti, was admittedly at variance with his description given at the preliminary hearing at Brockton on May 25, 1920. There was no official record of the preliminary hearing, and we have reason to believe that His Excellency is not informed as to the testimony at the preliminary hearing.

We also have reason to believe that His Excellency is not aware that the same Harding gave to an operative from the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, on the very day of the Bridgewater hold-up, a description of the man with the shotgun which is totally at variance with the description given by Harding at the Plymouth trial.

We would respectfully inquire whether His Excellency has before him, or whether he has made any effort to obtain, the Pinkerton report, made to the L. Q. White Shoe Company, based upon the investigations made by its operatives, H. H., and J. J. H., into the Bridgewater hold-up.

We would respectfully inquire whether His Excellency is aware that Harding not only identified Vanzetti at the Brockton police station, but that he was reported by the police as having positively identified Orciani, who, as His Excellency knows, was arrested on the day following the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, and who was released on May 12. His Excellency may or may not know that Orciani was released only after the police found that he was at work in a foundry on the day of the Bridgewater hold-up and also at work on the day of the South Braintree hold-up.

In the police report of Har[illegible] Orciani, he was reported as having [illegible] man, then he is his dead [illegible] Paymaster Cox of the [illegible] Shoe Company, who was riding on the truck carrying the company's pay-roll when the attempted hold-up took place. We understand that Mr. Cox was a school-boy chum of His Excellency's, and we understand that Mr. Cox has assured His Excellency that the man with the shotgun was Vanzetti.

Without adverting to the official record of the Plymouth trial or to the preliminary hearing at Brockton, we would point out that Mr. Cox's [illegible] of the man with the shotgun, given to the [illegible] operative on the day of the hold-up, was at serious [illegible] with the appearance of Vanzetti, but since His Excellency has not before him the Pinkerton report, or the police reports of the Bridgewater investigation, or the record of the preliminary hearing at Brockton, we can understand how His Excellency could be led, as we have reason to believe he has been led, into placing credence in the story of Mr. Cox.

In general, we point out that by failing to secure official records of the investigation of the Bridgewater hold-up

[illegible] the date of the release of Sacco and Vanzetti [illegible] His Excellency [illegible] the very interruption which would make [illegible] to arrive at a correct conclusion.

Mary Splaine. We understand that His Excellency has interviewed Mary Splaine, whose present name, we understand, is Mrs. Helen R. Williams, and who was one of the five Government identification witnesses who placed Sacco at South Braintree as one of the men throwing up in the bandit car.

We understand that, as a result of hearing this witness, His Excellency requested her to accompany him to Dedham Court, and from some point on the street identify the appearance of a man in an automobile 150 feet away. We point out that Miss Splaine, at the Dedham trial, testified that she was standing at the second-story window of the Hampton House, looking down upon the bandit car as it approached across the railroad tracks with the top up.

We would call attention to the rather obvious fact that the conditions of the test to which His Excellency submitted Miss Splaine were not the same as the conditions under which she said she saw the bandit car, but we have not the least criticism to offer of his procedure in this instance, believing His Excellency acted in entire good faith and with a knowledge that the conditions under which she testified were different.

But we believe that His Excellency is not aware of Miss Splaine's history in the case, for, we must point out again, to the fact that His Excellency has appeared to rely solely on the official record of the case and upon the statements of witnesses made without counsel on either side present or even given an opportunity to examine witnesses' statements to [illegible]

W[illegible] Excellency, having read the official [illegible] the cross-examination of Miss Splaine [illegible] counsel at Dedham, concerning her testimony at the preliminary hearing of Sacco and Vanzetti at Quincy. We would point out that there is no official record of the testimony in the preliminary hearing, the only record being that made by a stenographer employed by the defense. But we believe that His Excellency is not familiar in any way with what transpired at the Quincy hearing.

We have before us a statement regarding some facts connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, signed by Thomas O'Connor, who has been in the State House as a newspaper man for the past seven years. In relation to Miss Splaine, we quote the following from the statement:

> I have in my possession a copy of the report of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency concerning investigations made by an operative of the agency into the South Braintree hold-up. The operative, named Henry Hellyer, testified as a government witness at the Dedham trial. His report at that time was not available to the defense and I believe its contents were unknown to the defense. The report of the Pinkerton Agency was made to the Travelers Insurance Company, which insured the payroll of Slater and Morrill, Inc., against hold-up. The report of the operative dated April 19, 1920, four days after the hold-up, contains a long statement obtained from Mary Splaine, who was employed in the offices of Slater and Morrill, located in the so-called Hampton House [illegible]

[illegible] the bandit car as it [illegible] the crowd down [illegible] the shooting, when the bandit car [illegible] Miss Splaine changed [illegible] the hold-up was planned [illegible] Sacco and Vanzetti, and [illegible] the police to the Pinkerton operative and [illegible] the statement.

[illegible] statement of Miss Splaine, the operative reported, "Miss Splaine told me a version of activity at the factory [illegible] a special for exciting point."

[illegible] May 11, a week after Sacco and Vanzetti were [illegible] the operative reported as follows: "As my instructions concerned, I made discreet inquiries about Mr. —— whom Miss Splaine accused of being implicated in the murder and robbery. My inquiries [illegible] that there is absolutely no ground for Miss Splaine's accusation and that Mr. —— enjoys Mr. Slater's confidence. Today I took the matter up with Mr. Bryer [another shelling Finkler]. He ridiculed the idea of Mr. —— being implicated and further stated that the various operations must be attached to Mary Splaine's motive, because she is one of the most irresponsible persons he ever came in contact with."

The same Pinkerton report elsewhere states: "April [illegible]. Next I proceeded to South Braintree and showed a picture of Tony the Wop. Miss Splaine said it was a picture of the man she saw standing in the automobile as it dashed by within fifty feet of her after the shooting and robbery. She described the man yesterday when I interviewed her and on seeing the photo today instantly declared that it was a photo of the man she saw standing in the car with a revolver in his hand and who wore light gray clothes."

The report further states: "April 23. Today I continued by going to the office of the Massachusetts District Police and conferring with Capt. Proctor on what several witnesses had said in regard to the Anthony Palmisano photo . . . the auto was sent to South Braintree to bring Messrs. Bostock, Franklin, Wade and Miss Mary Splaine to Boston. On their arrival Capt. Proctor questioned them, showed [illegible] photos, stating them being Palmisano's, and had stenographer take each person's story. Miss Splaine [illegible] identified the photo of Anthony Palmisano as a photo of the man she saw standing in the bandit car holding a revolver as the car came [illegible] Pearl Street . . . After the witnesses had left [illegible] Capt. Proctor arranged for Sherlock and Crawford to leave for Buffalo on the 4:45 P. M. train, there to start an investigation of Anthony Palmisano."

The Pinkerton report further states: "April 2[illegible] I proceeded to the Massachusetts District Poli[illegible] and saw Capt. Proctor. He said that Anthony Palmisano was arrested last January . . . and is now in jail."

We would respectfully inquire whether His Excellen[illegible] made use in reaching [illegible] conclusion as to the probabl[illegible] accuracy of Miss Spl[illegible] by a test to wh[illegible] She was subjected in Bo[illegible] Boston, and by [illegible] reading of the record of the Dedham trial, without [illegible] gard to facts other sources of information, of which [illegible] have reason to believe he has not yet availed himself.

Carlos E. Goodman. Another of the five identi[illegible] state witnesses against Sacco at the Dedham trial w[illegible] man who testified under the name of Carlos E. Goodr[illegible] It does not appear as yet that His Excellency ha[illegible] interviewed this man. We appreciate the difficulty of l[illegible]

ing witness, whose appearance is a partly voluntary matter on their part, but would submit that there is likely to be a special difficulty in securing his interview with this man. But the importance of Goodridge is such that we feel bound to inquire whether His Excellency has actually interviewed this man, and if he has not, what the State Police have to report concerning their efforts to find Goodridge and induce him to testify. From our knowledge of Goodridge's past we should be surprised to learn that he is at present out of prison.

We would point out that the official record of the case to which we understand His Excellency has so far confined his attention, other than the interviewing of witnesses, does not reveal the history of Goodridge. Except in one respect, his history was unknown to the defense until after the close of the Dedham trial. Consequently, neither the judge nor the jury nor the defense counsel at Dedham knew that Goodridge testified under a false name—that his real name was Ernstus Corning Whitney; that he had spent some years in prison; that he was at the time of the trial at Dedham a fugitive from justice in New York; that he was brought back from Houlton, Maine, in May, 1920, by the chief of police of Braintree on a charge of larceny, preferred against Goodridge and his supposed wife by their employer; and that the charge against Goodridge was placed on file shortly before he testified as a government witness at Dedham, which is in the same county as Braintree.

We would point out that in the absence of information concerning Goodridge's personal history, His Excellency may not be inclined to attach to the failure of Goodridge now to appear, upon request, the significance which perhaps it deserves.

Louis L. Wade. This man was one of the five identification witnesses against Sacco at the Dedham trial. We do not know whether His Excellency has interviewed Mr. Wade. We assume he is familiar with Wade's testimony and with the attitude of Mr. Katzmann, the district attorney, [illegible] was [illegible] there [illegible] that is to say, [illegible] it." Then Mrs. Custance, for whom James Woodforde had a chivalrous devotion, would play the "Siccardo Pastorale" and make "very soft music indeed"; or would get out her work box and show them how neatly contrived it was, unless, indeed, Mrs. Custance were giving birth to another child upstairs, whom the Parson would baptize, and, very frequently, bury. The Parson had a deep respect for the Custances. They were all that country gentry should be—a little given to the habit of keeping mistresses, perhaps, but that peccadillo could be forgiven them in view of their generosity to the poor, the kindness they showed to Nancy, and their condescension in asking the Parson to dinner when they had great people staying with them. Yet great people were not much to James' liking. Deeply though he respected the nobility, "one must confess," he said, "that being with our equals is much more agreeable."

[illegible] witness against Sacco at the Dedham trial. We do not know whether Pelser has as yet appeared before His Excellency. We have no comment to make upon what the official record discloses concerning Pelser, nothing that His Excellency has read the trial record.

We would respectfully call attention to the fact that the record of the Plymouth hearing, covering a most extensive investigation made by his operatives, contains no reference to Pelser as an eye-witness of the South Braintree holdup. We do not pretend to know at what stage in the case Pelser turned up as an eye-witness who was in a position to make a positive identification.

We would respectfully remind His Excellency that he has not been furnished with a copy of the inquest at Quincy, which was held two days after the murder. It does not appear that Pelser was called as a witness at the Quincy inquest. We would respectfully suggest that the stage at which Pelser turned up as a witness has a bearing on the credibility of his testimony. We would not press this point now but for the fact that we have reason to believe that this cannot be determined from the trial record, and we feel bound to say that our observations of the methods which His Excellency has undertaken to get at the truth in this case do not give us confidence that he has the complete story about Pelser.

Department of Justice. We would respectfully inquire whether His Excellency has availed himself of the opportunity to inspect the files of the Department of Justice in so far as they may relate to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. We would call attention to a most serious phase of the case against Sacco and Vanzetti, upon which the Department of Justice files and certain officials of the Department could furnish His Excellency with much light.

According to the statement of Judge Thayer, made in denying the Gould motion, Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted chiefly on evidence relating to their consciousness of guilt. The most important element in this supposed consciousness of guilt was their suspicious conduct at the [illegible] night of May 5, preceding their arrest [illegible] No suitor has [illegible] years of Parson Woodforde's life that will remain will often have to record how Nancy annoyed him with her grumbling.

The ten years that remain—one knows of course that it must come to an end. Already the Custances have gone to Bath; the Parson has had a touch of gout; far away, with a sound like distant thunder, we hear the guns of the French Revolution. But it is comforting to observe that the imprisonment of the French King and Qu[illegible] anarchy and confusion in Paris, are only [illegible] after it has been recorded that Thomas Kam has lost his cow, and that Parson Woodforde has "brewed another Barrell of Table Beer today." We have a notion indeed—and here it must be confessed that we have given up reading Parson Woodforde altogether and merely tell over the story on a stroll through fields where the hares are scampering and the rooks rising above the elm trees—we have a notion that Parson Woodforde does not die. Parson Woodforde goes

[illegible] to Mr. D'Oyley, [illegible] the theory which he had formulated; and the disappearance of Boda the day after Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested.

"We would add, perhaps unnecessarily, that Boda was found dead early on the morning of May 6, the day Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested. He had been held prisoner in the office of the Department of Justice, on the fourteenth floor of the Park Row Building. Whether he jumped, fell or was thrown out of the window has never been officially determined.

"We would further ask whether His Excellency has made any attempt to secure the statement of Attorney General Palmer, made before the House Rules Committee in May, 1920, in connection with the so-called Red Raids of 1920. We would suggest that this report, which is a public document, would also throw some light on the matter of consciousness of guilt. We refer particularly to that part of the statement which includes the report of J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the Radical Division in the Department of Justice.

We are most serious in pressing this matter, partly because we understand that His Excellency has been assured by a local judge, called, not as a witness, but as an interpreter, that the so-called Red Raids were over by the end of 1919, and we fear that this assurance, received by him in the absence of information obtainable from official sources, may incline His Excellency to dismiss as invalid the explanation put forward on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti—that the drive against Italian radicals, and, it now appears, against the Galleani band of anarchists, was the true cause of their suspicious conduct.

JOHN J. RICHARDS. We understand that John J. Richards, a Providence attorney, was interviewed by His Excellency. We understand that Mr. Richards' sole connection with this case arose out of his experience with the Morelli gang of Providence, mentioned in affidavits secured by the Sacco-Vanzetti defense in connection with the confession of one Madeiros. We understand that Mr. Richards was United States Marshal in Rhode Island during the War, and arrested the Morelli gang. [illegible] would be too [illegible] understand why, in the quiet life of a country parish, these two bachelor friends became in time inseparable. An essential part of him would have died had he been forbidden to keep his diary. And as we read—if reading is the word for it—we seem to be listening to someone who is murmuring over the events of the day to himself in the quiet space which precedes sleep. It is not writing, and, to speak the truth, it is not reading. It is slipping through half a dozen pages and strolling to the window and looking out. It is going on thinking about the Woodfordes while we watch the people in the street below. It is taking a walk and making up the life and character of James Woodforde as we make up our friends' characters, turning over something they have said, pondering the meaning of something they have done, remembering how they looked one [illegible] "[illegible] I don't know why I [illegible] the information that I gained [illegible] I hear of the Sacco-Vanzetti [illegible] I was connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti defense. His entire attitude was one of suspicion and hostility to will as ignorance of any connection with the case."

Another C. Bagnuolo. Mr. Richards' revelations as to the attitude of His Excellency appear to be corroborated by the account given by Mr. Robert C. Benchley, who, we understand, appeared before His Excellency within a day or two of the appearance of Mr. Richards. Mr. Benchley's sole connection with the case was as the signer of an affidavit as to what one Coes told him regarding Judge Thayer's alleged judicious remarks at the time of the trial. Mr. Benchley has said that he was challenged by His Excellency to show him a single place in the entire record indicating that it was not a fair trial.

If these reports, made by responsible men, are true, we shall feel compelled to conclude that it appears to us after investigation that His Excellency is handling this case in an arbitrary, opinionated, unjudicial manner, in ignorance of many important and authoritative sources of information; that no real investigation is being conducted; that Sacco and Vanzetti are being denied the full and fair hearing which has obtained in Massachusetts in the past for every man under sentence of death, if he chose to ask for such hearing; and finally, if His Excellency's decision in the end is the proper one, it will be merely a fortunate accident.

We would point out that if Sacco and Vanzetti are executed as the result of a decision reached by the methods and in the spirit so far revealed by His Excellency, then His Excellency need not expect that his determination of the issue will appeal to the intelligence or satisfy the conscience of mankind.

My Church School Cousin

[illegible] of intimacy. It is idle to pretend that he was a zealous priest. God in Heaven was much the same to him as King George upon the throne—a kindly Monarch, that is to say, whose festivals one kept by preaching a sermon on Sunday, much as one kept the royal birthday by firing a blunderbuss and drinking a toast at dinner. Should anything untoward happen, like the death of a boy who was dragged and killed by a horse, he would instantly but rather perfunctorily exclaim, "I hope to God the Poor Boy is happy" and add "We all came home singing"; just as when Justice Creed's peacock spread its tail—"and [illegible] noble it is"—he would exclaim "How wo[illegible] Thy Ways, O God, in everything!" But there [illegible] fanaticism, no enthusiasm, no lyric impulse about James Woodforde. In all these pages indeed, each so neatly divided into compartments and each of those again filled, as the days themselves were, so quietly and so fully, in a hand like the pacing of a well tempered song, one can only call to mind a single poetic phrase about the transit of Venus, how "It appeared as

* The Diary of a Country Parson. Vol. III. Edited by John Berwford. Oxford University Press.

was Salutatorian, and had delivered the usual Saturday Address on the theme, "In The Morning It Shall Be Light," followed next day by the reading of her composition, "Far Distant Fields Appear Green," at which time she wore a white dress of organdie with a long train, a sash of pink moiré and a wreath of artificial elderberry flowers in her hair, and, like all the graduating young ladies, had great bunches of magnolia blossoms sent up to her, after tremendous applause.

With the education she had, there was nothing for Cousin Cornelia to do but become a mistress of literature or history, or both; since she knew, at least, how to read, and could, in either of these subjects, prepare her lessons in advance and so keep abreast of her pupils. She began with eight hours a day teaching, from eight till four every day, after which, when she was on duty, which was every five or six weeks, she took the young ladies walking, and, between walking times, to the dressmaker or dentist, if anyone wanted to go. The walking was half an hour; after it she kept the study period for an hour, then supper, then two more hours' study period, these added to the hour before breakfast. After the study period at night, she saw that lights were out and every student in her room. On Sundays, she was on guard all afternoon to see that the young ladies did not carry on with the boys. This was when she was on duty; the rest of the time, the other four or five weeks, she had only the eight hours a day teaching, with papers outside, and, on Sundays, church twice a day, and a Sunday school class in the college chapel. For this she received her board and laundry and thirty dollars a month, from which were to be deducted contributions to loyal college causes and her religious dues.

Since that time when Cousin Cornelia began as mistress of literature and history at her college in North Mississippi, nearly fifty years have passed. And all that time she has been in church schools, where the women were worn out and made to feel at last that they were kept on charity, when in fact they were doing, under the blessings of religion, more than any factory would dare to ask of its employees. But she has kept up, in spite of her ninety-five pounds and her little spells of fever and rheumatism now and then, and has refused offers to live with this cousin or that, preferring her independence and her own money, which by now has risen to sixty a month, with board but without laundry.

She has still much to give a college, and a president with any brains would have known that nothing could be worth more to his young ladies than the gentle breeding and delicacy that such a woman could bring. But the demand is for up-to-date teachers, young women no longer the daughters of gentlemen necessarily, but from all sorts of homes, high and low, so long as they have taken degrees at the State University or studied at summer schools in the North. Cousin Cornelia is too old, and last year the Reverend President of her college dismissed her, after ten years' service. It is not his fault; he is a vulgar, dull man, without breeding or culture of any sort, only his sonorous attentions to the Lord; and most of his patrons are no better. Cousin Cornelia made [illegible] of the college [illegible] hundred [illegible] she had could up a [illegible] year to year in scholarships to educate young women whose parents could not afford to pay the full tuition, little as it might be.

"She has come, then, to live at my uncle's house, and is very welcome; he has often said, "Cornelia, why don't you quit the fools and come on live with us?"

"Well, they seem to me to make a mistake," she says, "not keeping me. There are so many things I could do. What if I am old?"

She offered, she says, to take half salary and to sit in chapel during study hour and take the girls shopping daily, but the president could not see the advantage.

"I'm sorry, Sister," he said, using the holy phrase, "we all hate to lose you and we admire your Christian womanhood"—a brand of spouting that comes very easy to him doubtless.

This past year, Cousin Cornelia has had a place in a new Oklahoma church college, where there were thirty teachers to what turned out to be about thirty girls, a chef from a town restaurant and a general air of progress. But this institution proved to be a sort of real estate scheme, backed by promoters of a city addition; the president, a simple creature who walked up and down the dining-room in his shirt-sleeves carrying the baby, while the young ladies were at table; and the payment of the salaries so halting that nothing came in after the first month. That was the end of Cousin Cornelia's savings.

She is very proud and has spoken very little of her history in the schools. Only once she has broken down, and cried a little.

"Well, Cousin, they wouldn't have me. Not at any place."

"What do you care?" I say. "A lot of trash and riff-raff and ignoramuses."

"[illegible] of course, many of these schools was endowed, they really have to do the best they can. It's not always their fault."

"I don't see much difference," I insist, "the churches countenance them, the preachers back them, the conference endorses them."

"I know you say that, honey."

I pile it on.

"Fools, oysters, ignoramuses! And even at that they don't make enough to feed the chickens. It's all too low!"

She sighs. "As Mother used to say, the pot's boiled over and the scum has come to the top."

I put my arm about her shoulder[illegible]

"You can teach us all, with those [illegible] eyes."

"It's mighty sweet of you, honey, but I'm an old woman, and no use."

I protest. "The devil you say!"

"I suppose they did the best they could, they meant to be kind. They just didn't know any better," she says, more like herself, "and there's no use crying over spilt milk," and adds, smiling as she holds out the back of her hand for me to see, "thin as it is."

STARK YOUNG.

Liberty in a Democracy

The Story of Civil Liberties in the United States, by Leon Whipple. New York: Vanguard Press. 346 pages. $3.50.

THIS book is a genuine history of the American people—the story of the relation of the individual, the ultimate unit, to the state, whether expressing itself through representative government and orderly process of law, or in social boycott and mob violence. It is a history of disillusionment "here," as the writer says, "out of war and ignorance," in the years of conscription, espionage, criminal syndicalism acts and deportation delirium, when men were wont to invoke the tradition of the past against the present. Mr. Whipple finds those traditions lacking. As a people, we have never enjoyed the liberty of which we boast. The repression of the World War finds its prototype in every preceding period of popular excitement. Following his volume on the origins and meanings of the constitutional guarantees, "Those Ancient Liberties" (Wilson and Company), Mr. Whipple has undertaken to compile a case record of the years between the adoption of the Constitution and entrance into the World War. As he says, the cases themselves dictate the thesis "that whoever has power, economic or political, enjoys liberty."

Mr. Whipple opens his account with a chapter on the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, which introduces us at once to the parallels which run through our history. The revolutionary majority treated the Tory minority precisely as the pro-Ally majority treated the pro-German or pacifist minority in the World War. There was general scrutiny of "loyalty," freedom of speech and of the press was suppressed by law and mob; sedition acts were passed by the colonies, making it a crime to defame Congress or an act of the colonial legislature. Tories were deported. Quakers and other conscientious objectors [illegible] war, in which [illegible] war." [illegible]

There were those who cherished the obligation to keep faith with the ideology of the Declaration of Independence, and to their efforts we owe the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. At once arose the question of their interpretation, to which Mr. Whipple sees three forms of answer: The conservatives wanted them interpreted *legally*, following English precedent; the people wanted them interpreted *practically*, as instruments of self-government; the philosophic libertarians wanted them interpreted "as an ideal of spiritual and intellectual freedom." The first group were in immediate control of the government and proceeded to limit the liberties written in the Bill of Rights by the precedents of English common law. For instance, English laws making labor compulsory were invoked against striking workers. Sedition in English law was a crime because of the divine right of the king and his government: it was translated in America to cover opposition to an elected government. The Alien and Sedition Acts, under John Adams, motivated by a worked-up scare of war with France, were a striking anticipation of later events.

Mr. Whipple finds the first period of interpretation of civil liberty, which we may call the Jeffersonian, occupied with breaking the tradition of English common law, and [illegible] the [illegible] period and [illegible] government, in respect to the liberties of citizens. The second period, from 1830 to [illegible], followed by the election of Andrew Jackson, he finds characterized by democratic opinion expressed through law and mob, a prototype of the Klan-Prohibition era after the World War. "The history of civil liberty in this period is a history of attacks by the majority upon abolitionists, Mormons, Mormons, Roman Catholics and foreigners, all unpopular groups to which the state, organized for law and order, failed to afford any real protection." The tyranny of the majority expressed itself over and over again in mob violence, and the country belonged to "the mob." Among the tragic stories of lynching in this period stands out the case of Elijah Lovejoy, murdered by the people of Alton, Illinois, for exercising freedom of the press in the discussion of slavery. The refusal of the Boston Aldermen to allow the use of Faneuil Hall for a protest meeting, on the ground that "it would not express the public opinion of the city, and would create confusion in the hall," has a familiar ring. At this time, it may be added, the people's post office began to declare matter unmailable, in the interest of saving the susceptibilities of the South.

The main results of the Civil War in regard to Civil Liberty, Mr. Whipple sums up as follows: "First, it condemned the claim of one phase of the 'tyranny of the majority,' namely, that a minority is not free to withdraw and set up a new state. Second, it proved again that war suspends constitutional guarantees. Third, it left the United States a legacy of violence and of weakened constitutional ideals." In the Civil War, the encroachments of government upon the liberties of the people were numerous and various. The facts that it was a Civil War in which the very existence of the state, as understood by the majority, was threatened; that the boundary between the enemies was dubious and shifting; that it was a war in which morale was of the highest importance, must be taken into account by those who would find precedent in [illegible] Lincoln for that of Wilson. Moreover, [illegible] government were regularly the work [illegible] the courts [illegible] the usurping military with the weapon of summons for contempt. The country was spared the particular form of "weakened constitutional ideals" which comes from judicial officers, judges and state attorneys, combining to profiteer in patriotism at the expense of helpless victims of private malice and public bigotry. The record shows nothing in judicial practice like the conduct of Judge Clayton in the Abrams case or Judge Landis in the I. W. W. case. The number of victims of martial law was very large; 13,535 citizens were confined in military prisons between February, 1862, and the close of the war. It was extended [illegible] detention of "implied treason." It is not surprising [illegible] General Burnside atoned for his incompetence [illegible] by a zeal as commander in the loyal states which found expression in a doctrine which has had recent offspring. "The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offenses will be at once arrested," etc. When the Democratic leader, C. L. Vallandigham, ventured to characterize the war as unnecessary, and General Burnside's order as usurpation, Burnside arrested him. The embarrassment of the executive is shown by Lincoln's despatch to his unlucky general: "All the Cabinet regretted the arrest, doubting its necessity . . . but being done, all were for seeing you through

with it." "Rocking through" prevented in saving Dorsey's face and Vallandigham's life. In general it must be remembered that the clemency of the executive was frequent and prompt. There was no vindictive prolongation of punishment after hostilities had ceased.

Two of Mr. Whipple's chapters which are of particular contemporary significance are those on Race Problems and Civil Liberty and Civil Liberty and Labor. In regard to the first, he finds ample corroboration of his thesis—"he who has power has liberty." Aliens backed by power at home have enjoyed freedom, but our treatment of the Indians, Negroes and Chinese forms a long record of dishonor. Particularly the Chinese, whose status with us was determined by treaties, have suffered outrages at the hands of mobs which make recent anti-foreign outbreaks in China look pale. And the confession of inability on the part of the federal executive to enforce the treaties it solemnly made surpasses the impotence of Peking.

The relation of Labor to Civil Liberty is still further illustrative of Mr. Whipple's thesis. "The power which exercises the greatest control over liberty is economic," and labor is peculiarly its victim. It would be impossible even to summarize Mr. Whipple's amply documented account of the struggle of labor with its employers, primarily for the right to organize. On the part of the workers, the necessity of organization leads to the denial of the civil right to work to non-union men; and on the part of employers, the desire to control their own business leads to the employment of small armies of private police and thugs to protect them in this right. The situation is that of a bloody feud in a medieval state between two powerful vassals which the suzerain helplessly contemplates. Not only is government frequently unable to protect the weaker party, but it tends constantly more and more to lend its power to be used by the employers. The private armies are enrolled as deputy sheriffs; labor leaders are kidnapped by the police and transported from one state to another; injunctions are granted by the courts to make it impossible to carry on strikes. Homestead, Pullman, Lawrence, Ludlow, Bisbee are names of battles in [illegible] of labor and capital. The most signal case of inter[illegible] strike in 1893, when the federal courts enjoi[illegible] leaders from doing nearly everything which pertai[illegible] strike, and President Cleveland sent U. S. troops to overawe the rank and file.

Governor John P. Altgeld protested against this misuse of the federal authority; and Governor Altgeld stands out almost alone in this history as the representative of government who invariably took the side of the poor and the weak whom it is the function of government to protect. Coming into office as Governor of Illinois after the Chicago anarchists had been convicted, four of them hanged and three imprisoned, he made a thorough investigation of the case and, instead of quietly pardoning the three, he made a full statement declaring the innocence of the men executed, scoring the police for their fabrication of evidence and trial Judge Gary for the malicious ferocity with which he swayed the jury; and, in short, condemning the state of Illinois for judicial murder. No braver thing was ever done by an American ruler, and the deed stands out in white splendor against what is, on the whole, a record of disillusionment. It is hardly necessary to add that it cost Governor Altgeld his political life.

Mr. Whipple's book is the most pretentious effort made by the Vanguard Press in its series of fifty-cent volumes. It is indeed unfortunate that so serious and scholarly a work should [illegible] production. It is to be hoped that this defect will find compensation in wide distribution. It should be a textbook in every college where American history is taught as an introduction to politics.

Robert Morss Lovett.

A Scientist Off Duty

Male Philosophy and Other Essays, by Cassius J. Keyser. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 134 pages. $3.

EVERY now and then something occurs to suggest to us that a scientist is really a poet gone wrong. Sometimes we feel this even when the scientist is talking about science. No one has insisted more strongly than Professor Keyser on the impersonal rigor of scientific thinking. Yet as Professor Warner Fite very wittily suggested in reviewing Keyser's "Human Worth of Rigorous Thinking" some years ago, the rigors of science are rigors of arrangement; they appear in external forms like the precision of a work of art; so that the scientist is most human—most imaginative—when he is most rigorous!

In these little essays, however, the mathematician has revealed himself frankly as a poet, a passionate humanitarian, even a philosopher. The opening bit is an ardent plea for unattainable if not inconceivable ideals as against the grubbing realism of the mole. We find also the vehement affirmation of liberty in the face of prohibition, personal tributes to various friends and former teachers, and the interesting suggestion that the author missed the presidency of the University of Missouri by giving an equivocal answer to the question, "Do you believe in the existence of God?"

Readers will respond differently to the various items of Keyserian philosophy. For example, when the author propounds his theory of the pseudo-question—"*Not everything* having the form of a question is a question. It is easy [illegible] assuming (as Professor Keyser forgets to do) that he actually extends his boundaries in the process. But I am not sure that I see the sense either of calling Pasteur "the most perfect man who has ever entered the Kingdom of Science," or of saying that if he had had "the precious fortune to be the son of an ardent prohibitionist . . . he might have been able to render *as great service* to humanity as William Jennings Bryan or even William H. Anderson"; while the proposal to classify celebrities into "great men" and "*great* men"—coming as it does immediately after the mathemat[illegible] mbic praise of definition—leaves me cold. W[illegible] by calling Kant a great man and Pasteur a *gre*[illegible] (as Keyser does) I quite fail to see.

Both in a footnote to the passage and in his preface, the author requests his readers to inform him if his theory of mortality has ever before been formulated. The theory is that all human values are characteristically mortal and are conceivable only on the assumption of mortal finitude. With some allowance for variation of expression, I believe this has been said before, perhaps more than once. I suggest the ninth chapter of Ecclesiastes.

C. E. Ayres.

To Arms, Connecticut!

States' Rights and National Prohibition, by Andrew C. Stevenson. New York: The Knickerbocker Company. 157 pages. $2.50.

THIS may be called a "wet" book. Its author, a bootlegger and their strong partisan, wishes only the Eighteenth Amendment, defenders of faith in the Constitution, ranged in orderly battle array, on one side, and on the opposite their foes. "Endorse the great Amendment to its last alliterative letter," flouts the prohibitionists, "for it is part of our highest law." "Endorse the Tenth Amendment and the Eighteenth is void," retorts the plainly frightened anti-prohibitionists.

The theme of the book is not new, though its propounder is. I trust that I can state it more accurately than the author states Mr. Calhoun's famous thesis. It runs somewhat as follows: The Constitution was adopted by a unanimous vote of the states. No state was coerced to join. It was ratified by the states in effect with reservations. These were embodied in the first ten amendments. The Tenth expressly "reserved to the states or to the people" all powers not delegated to the United States nor denied to the states. When that was written, it was meant to stand forever and ever, world without end. Provision was indeed made for amending the Constitution by action of Congress and three-fourths of the states, but this was not to apply to the reserved powers thus embalmed and entombed for eternity. Now, the Eighteenth Amendment was not adopted unanimously. Mr. Stevenson nowhere says that it would be valid if it had been so adopted; but, be that as it may, by some happy mischance, Connecticut and Rhode Island, comprising not "one half of one" but nearly 2 percent of the population, escaped the hectic hysteria of the wartime period of ratification. The amendment, therefore, is either not what it seems or is void altogether.

Of course, there are in this some hurdles to be leaped. There are, for example, the Civil War amendments which undeniably withdrew powers from the states, however different in kind from the power over liquor. Very limited restrictions upon the states, Mr. Stevenson thinks, were the abolition of slavery, the grant of the ballot to the Negro and the due process and equal protection guaranteed. Well, says he, these amendments were probably not valid, but long acquiescence has legalized them. He does not refer to the Nineteenth Amendment, though the folks of 1789 would doubtless have regarded a nation-limited woman's suffrage as an invasion of states' rights no less horrendous than prohibition. Letting women out of the home would have been as outlandish as not letting liquor in.

Again there is the hurdle of the Supreme Court's judgment of validity upon the Eighteenth Amendment. Well, the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to decide that issue; but Mr. Stevenson is somewhat hazy and hesitant as to what can be done about that. It was just all wrong. "Unfortunately the states . . . do not seem to have been provided with *any defensive* weapon to protect their reserved powers."

How, then, shall we emerge from the dilemma? Two specific proposals are made. The amendment should be construed as applicable only to interstate and foreign commerce, power over which was vested in Congress from the beginning. Connecticut is in a peculiarly strong position to urge this upon the Supreme Court. How the words "manufacture" and "sale" are to be read out of the amendment, leaving only "transportation," Mr. Stevenson does [illegible]

[illegible] Congress, under the provisions of the Fifth Amendment, [illegible] clear that [illegible] may be withdrawn by [illegible] The other of the author's arguments is that the Tenth and Fifth Amendments cannot be altered by the ordinary process. This apparently this amendment, if ratified by a policy three-fourths of the states, would be validly binding on all, even though the more limited prohibition amendment, similarly ratified, is not so binding. Moreover, by some unexplained alchemy, this amendment, if adopted, would apparently breathe the breath of legality into the moribund Eighteenth. Undaunted by such contradictions and conflicts of consequences, he touches bar to the last act of his unintended melodrama. He tells us that, if Congress should refuse to submit, or the states to ratify, this amendment, "the people of Connecticut must then make up the full the usurpation of their reserved powers by the federal government under color of the Eighteenth Amendment." This is plainly our old friend Nullification, however vehemently that is denied. Within the thought, but it is not far from advocacy of its overthrow of the federal government by force—the force of Connecticut arms. Temperate as is Mr. Stevenson's approach to this hot subject, his argument is *in full of flaws* as his constructive proposals are palpably dynamic.

HOWARD LEE MCBAIN.

Critical Responsibility

Molière, by Ramon Fernandez, translated from the French by Montgomery Belgion. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 384 pages. $2.50.

[illegible] the leaders of contemporary criticism. [illegible] M. Ramon Fernandez, the French critic, comes forward with a novel point of view, supported by analysis of recent and contemporary writers; it is his purpose to distill the "message" each of these may have for us in our sorest need. The seriousness of his motive, at a time when too many talented writers, some of them even more talented than M. Fernandez, are turned to excitement and mere novelty, demands our directest attention. A few writers, like Valéry, have made capital out of disorder and achieved apotheosis like Madame de Staël's: after a century, reputation becomes authority. I have [illegible] Valéry and Fernandez put side by side in protest [illegible] common enemy—romanticism; yet M. Valéry, [illegible] the reach of sensibility, has not, I believe, strengthened our discipline; and it is hard to believe that we shall be long deceived by his frequent use of the words intellect and intelligence. His essays, on the whole, expose another variety of the "intermittences of the heart" of Marcel Proust, but, while distraction is good for the soul, it is no longer good for anything else: it was once the privilege of every citizen, and now that it is deprived of correction and interpretation by constituted authority, it claims an authority of its own.

The growth of unlicensed confession from Rousseau to Proust is one of the two leading points of M. Fernandez'

[illegible] attack. It has been known in the last half century as [illegible]. The other holding point is the Materialist philosophic mode, the unofficial government of science in metaphysics; M. Fernandez calls it the "fallacy of cause and fact." The two fallacies together are the prisms in which the familiar dualism of metaphysics emerges in the modern mind. It is M. Fernandez' great merit to have laid bare, with precision and insight, the results of this bifurcation of man's spirit.

The problem is known to readers of recent English philosophy as the "bifurcation of nature." It has a long and diverting history. As it appears at this moment on the imaginative plane, it has two aspects, each standing for a horn of the metaphysical dilemma: the idea of pure art, supposedly distinct from all other ideas and independent of them; and the genetic or psychological idea of art. The dualism is complete and the battle rages. M. Fernandez offers a truce between the factions:

The novelty of his reconciliation is radical, for it reverses the usual approach to the esthetic problem. Hitherto, esthetics has been a "department" of philosophy, and you couldn't reach the work of art until you had stood firmly on much other ground; but in the Fernandez system, philosophy, instead of leading up to esthetics, begins with it as the starting-point; it becomes the sole metaphysical subject-matter. I quote M. Fernandez:

> Allowing that the visions of art are by definition imaginative, we can say that esthetics must be an imaginative ontology, that is to say that the fundamental problem of esthetics is no other than the metaphysical problem of being, but translated to the plane of the imagination.

In other words, the material of the Fernandez metaphysics is the known body of literature and art—just as the historical material of philosophy is the sunsets and trees of the known body of nature. At this point, M. Fernandez makes a most ingenious plea for his doctrine from the philosophical side: Would not metaphysics, even outside the problem of poetry, be greatly advantaged by recourse to art, a territory perennially fresh, a realm not stale and dried up by centuries of school-making and polemic?

M. Fernandez' method is an [illegible] (or [illegible] conventions) which [illegible] spirit an exercise of its primitive [illegible] and by the faculty I mean the state of mind back of the speculation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is a refutation of the distress and gloom which inspire the fashionable literature of the age. For the fact of the work of art, viewed directly, is neither the psychological fact of the scientist nor the hypostatic fact of the esthete; it is a fact of experience, like a cow or a bird; and though the methods of modern scientism may be fruitfully applied to it, they cannot be used as a way of leading up to the fact of art; they can only [illegible] counters to lead us away, into analogies [illegible] fields. They must inevitably, whatever be the intention—and this M. Fernandez most acutely understands—lead away from the work of art itself. The critic who proudly asserts that he is investigating poetry from the psychological viewpoint is doing nothing of the sort; he is running away from poetry as fast as the well oiled wheels of his conventions will carry him. Scientific approaches, because each has its own partial conventions momently arrogating to themselves the authority of total explanation, must invariably fail to see all the experience latent in the work. The psychologist sees only, in Stendhal, the analyst; the esthete sees nothing; neither sees the novel by Stendhal. It is this that M. Fernandez tries to see.

[illegible] the [illegible] novel, [illegible] the most [illegible] spirits may fully [illegible] of the age. The man, in the philosopher, is entirely complete; what he finds at the young he must be able to convince us, by his [illegible], [illegible], and discipline, that he has seen it all. He takes, as M. Fernandez says, "the leap in the dark." It is no longer his privilege, then, to put a thrill in the plot, and, feathered out in the tar of the Brothers Brown, ride with an easy conscience to the Hotel Algonquin of dreams. He must repudiate the fraternity grip and secret signs, and write as a private person. It is a responsibility that not many writers will be eager to assume. As the moral critic in the most distinguished sense, M. Fernandez does not find the moral equivalent of his doctrine widely spread in American society; its moral equivalent is, in the immediate phase, simply the possibility of being understood. A later volume by M. Fernandez will be welcomed by those concerned with the intellectual crisis of the time, and these people will also welcome a closer consistency of theory and detail in the exposition of his method.

ALLEN TATE.

Characterization under the Microscope

The Later Realism: A Study of Characterization in the British Novel, by Walter L. Myers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 273 pages. $2.

SCIENCE, having conquered other realms, is creeping into the domain of literature. Equipped with the scientist's microscope and methods, Walter L. Myers has approached his inquiry into characterization in the British novel. His aim is to isolate suitable specimens, to classify, and then define. The royal prerogative of the critic to judge and prophesy has no part in his scientific plan. He takes as a starting point the novels of George Eliot, which he [illegible] the best developments in fiction up to [illegible] in the [illegible] found the late Victorian novel in possessing "a wider conception of normality and a greater intensity and amplitude of actuality." It is in the discussion of normality that he offers his most original contribution to the study. The late Victorians, he points out, created characters of considerable complexity, but characters which were circumscribed by a set formula. It was imperative that they should be normal people and that their motives should be clearly understood. Even George Eliot and Meredith, to Mr. Myers' thinking, held no traffic with the dualism, the dark irrationality, the inexplicable shifts of mood proper to people in actual life. Still less was there any infusion in their works of the poetic, metaphysical element which is especially present in the novels of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Joyce. The elaborate studies in consciousness which have become for us a commonplace would have impressed the late Victorians, according to Mr. Myers, as definitely abnormal.

The explanation which the author offers for the development of more intimate probing into the inconsistencies and secret springs of characters stresses particularly the influence of Freudian psychology. One wishes that Mr. Myers had not dwelt quite so long nor so lovingly on this topic.

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. Lawrence in order to [illegible] that the modern school had [illegible] Wrestling element. It would have been [illegible] If he had developed his theory of the effect on the novel quest by the 'scientific' spirit [illegible] clearness to type to the variations of the individual.

The simplest, and at the same time the least satisfying portion of the book, is Mr. Myers' analysis of the growth in actuality, or "change in specification in details of portrayal." After all his careful impartiality, it is fairly obvious that he believes an advance has been made by the latter realists in the details of character portrayal such as dialogue, colorful description, and analysis of mind mechanism. This, I think, requires proof, and it seems to me that the examples which Mr. Myers has chosen to illustrate the old and the new are, except in the case of dialogue, hardly fortunate. In particular, he quotes passages from Miss Richardson, the veracity and excellence of which one may be permitted to question. Even assuming that the modern realists are superior in their handling of these details, one feels impelled to ask whether their character creations are, in total effect, nearly so vigorous and alive as those of the Victorians.

It is this question which Mr. Myers neglects to answer, and it is his failure to answer which lessens the value of the book, however closely it adheres to the announced plan. It is difficult to cavil at the author. He insists so thoroughly on the limited boundaries of the book and the fact that it is a study in definition, not in criticism. But even on his own terms, "The Later Realism" is not wholly uncritical. The mere choice of examples—the complete omission of such figures as Conrad and George Moore—the overemphasis on Mr. Lawrence, Miss Richardson, et al., and the consequent shortcomings, in tracing the intermediate steps between them and the late Victorians, indicate a bias. Since Mr. Myers was attacking the subject of characterization in so scholarly and painstaking a fashion, it seems a pity that he did not enlarge the scope of his study. He did not generally compare [illegible] clarity of character developed from "naturalism" to "extra-realism," and that he did not attempt to relate these new developments to the large trend of English fiction. His book smacks unduly of the Ph. D. thesis and the laboratory. It will undoubtedly be useful, as he himself modestly suggests, as a pioneering attempt at definition; but one wishes, perhaps unreasonably, for the greater richness and suggestiveness which the subtitle, "A Study in Characterization in the British Novel," implies.

RUTH H. WALTON.

"Or What's a Heaven For?"

The Women at Point Sur, by Robinson Jeffers. New York: Boni and Liveright. 775 pages. $2.50.

THE work of Robinson Jeffers is striped with divers colors: the tawny and saffron and blue burning of the stars; the savage rust of ancient blood-stains on our crawling planet; the bitter green of mars; the protean fires nesting in that most dazzling crystal—imagination. He is possessed by the apparently interminable tragedy enacted by the human race. He struggles to wrench his eyes from that spectacle. He leaps into a surge of per-

[illegible] Jeffers [illegible] from [illegible] Horace. This latest [illegible] place—[illegible] him in this [illegible] the struggle of a man toward godhood. [illegible] who feel the sun in [illegible] the Wind, and feel the tides chemistry—a half-crazed [illegible] the elements reality, and threatening he [illegible] by overwhelming right [illegible] me. The [illegible] Thereby struggles with when he first [illegible] all [illegible] the questions that torment [illegible] when the soul plumbs its own [illegible]: Is there any spirit of the universe? Is there any life informing the whole? . . . Is anything left there [illegible] but waiting sand? . . . Into Death man [illegible] The old [illegible] to believe that God is wing power [illegible] of the [illegible] flesh. But questions continue to [illegible] to be [illegible] there is no peace in this Power. What are God's thoughts but action? How lay hold on God save by becoming Him? How contain Him save by rising beyond good and evil? Thereby yonder the Pacific [illegible] cells, gathering his disciples, preaching the God who is to overthrow the limited impulses of thousands of years. He [illegible] the [illegible] ignorant wretches about him with [illegible] lusts and [illegible] dreams. He [illegible] terrible prophecies. He [illegible] incest with his virginal young daughter. He ends his uncertain pilgrimage at the mouth of a dead coal-mine, muttering through bitted lips at the last:

"I want creation. The wind over the desert
"Has turned and I will build again all that's gone down.
"I am inexhaustible."

Certainly Jeffers never handled a richer subject. Even [illegible] it presents, to those who know the poet's virile, an intimation of magnificent achievement. And yet, for all the metaphysical meat of its content, for all the lightning-like visions which streak certain passages with glory, the poem leaves one with the feeling of having witnessed a Pyrrhic victory. Its profundities [illegible] Its flame is molled with an irre[illegible] [illegible] is not sufficiently stripped and bare.

[illegible] author's power is unquestionable. Perhaps because his grasp is immense, it has exceeded, for once, his grasp. He has the large illusiveness, the shining [illegible], the [illegible] beauty, that are possible only to a searching, supple, tough-fibered mentality. What is lacking here is a sterner self-discipline, a more reticent [illegible]. Then might pity flower out of horror. Then might a hard grain of wisdom be left in the [illegible] of desperation.

BASETTE DEUTSCH.

The Sorcerer's Apprentice

The Sorcerer's Apprentice, by Hanns Heinz Ewers. Translated by Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: The John Day Company. $5.

THE Apprentice at Sorcery" (as the original title more appropriately reads) is a German student whose morbid investigation of racial origins and psychological developments yield amazing and catastrophic fruit.

A Tyrolean comes to America and makes a neat fortune as a slave merchant. But American revivalism has made

[illegible] his victim, and he carries the gospel of [illegible] to native villages. By [illegible] Frank Braun, the student, gains control of the native populace and even of the fanatical evangelist, who believes he is Heph [illegible].

But the village is only Frank Braun's laboratory, and the villagers his materials. His investigation disclosures the fact that the ecstasy of religious squalidness is not in all the forty emotional transport of a transcendentalized mind. On the contrary, it is perhaps the most complete reversion to animalism in the whole scale of civilization. This is revealed when the revivalists becomes orgiastic beyond control, culminating in what is perhaps the most horrid murder in all literature, and in sanctistic mutilations that are only preludes to a crucifixion too inhuman for even Frank Braun to endure.

Ewers' horror is more utter than Poe's, both in atmosphere and in incident. Ewers achieves this effect by maintaining a realistic verisimilitude throughout, and by explaining his horrors in terms of scientific scholarship. He realizes that science is much more terrifying than all the supernatural extravagances of the Gothic romance; and that his explanations, far from lessening the horror, actually make it more blood-curdling.

Ludwig Lewisohn's translation leaves much to be desired. The racy tempo of Ewers' style is wholly lost in Lewisohn's un-English involutions of sentence structure; and liberties seem to have been taken with some of the author's meanings. Fortunately the compulsion of Ewers' theme and material transcends these shortcomings.

WALTER F. KORN.

People Round the Corner

People Round the Corner, by Thyra Samter Winslow. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IT IS the fashion, in America, to bewail the influence of the popular magazine on our writers of the short story; and in general, the complaint is no doubt well justified. Too many authors water down their broth to suit the far from sturdy palate of the populace. [illegible] to stand out against the blandishments of [illegible] if he really wants to. Mrs. Winslow contributes to such widely circulated periodicals as the Red Book and the Pictorial Review, as well as to the American Mercury and the Century; and it is impossible to note any signs of concession to the mass-reader, or to tell from internal evidence which of her stories were consumed by 1,500,000 people, and which by 50,000 or 75,000.

"People Round the Corner" deals with the same persons and scenes found in her earlier collection, "Picture Frames," and her novel, "Show Business." These are the drab annals of the lower middle class, particularly in the small towns of the Middle West. Few authors know this scene as well as Mrs. Winslow, and she tells us, with a truthfulness which is unsparing yet never quite cruel, of the pride, ambition, the rather tepid loves and (usually) still more tepid hates which may be discovered by taking off successive roofs along any mean street in America.

There is an inevitability about the happenings in these stories which would probably be the subject of wide remark, if they were translations from the Russian, instead of coming out of the hard bright glitter of the magazines. Hardly ever do events take place because the author needs them to round out a plot. Nearly always, incident arises from character. Probably the story in this collection which [illegible] of [illegible] who, after [illegible] of [illegible] in a hilarious discussion in the dining-room, engineers a quarrel for her grand daughter in order to fall her as a [illegible] of her own. The effect [illegible] only four days, and then the honeymooners return to the home nest, permanently, and Grandma must go back to the davenport. [illegible] I think, is "On a Florence Sunday Afternoon in August," the tale of a spent little suburban housewife who, when a Wackmeister turns up to capitalize his knowledge of her one sin of years ago, quietly and sorrowfully gives him poison. Other readers, however, doubtless will have other favorites. It is the sort of book every which people are likely to carry on that sort of fiesta. But they [illegible] I think, in welcoming the modernism, without sentimentality, and the wisdom with which Mrs. Winslow endows passing every page.

H. H.

The Spanish Journey, by Julius Meier-Graefe; translated by J. Holroyd Reece; with drawings by J. Sina and nine plates after paintings by El Greco. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 464 pages. $5.

HERR MEIER-GRAEFE is known in America rather chiefly through his admirably biography of Vincent Van Gogh. His "Spanish Journey" was written in the early stages of his critical career; it is a keen, witty, vivacious commentary upon a tour through Spain which began as a pilgrimage to Velasquez and ended by a complete reversal of judgment that threw him, as it were, into the arms of El Greco. The *Reisebuch* is a genre that the Germans turn to with much assiduity and good-will; and this is all that a travel diary should be—light, perceptive, intuitive, and with a hint on every page of the more serious purposes and intentions that bind these fugitive impressions and anecdotes together. There is a lack of profuse and ponderousness in Herr Meier-Graefe that is disarming; he is a mature, intelligent companion, sure enough of his [illegible] to relax and to carry his rôle off easily. "The S[illegible] the guide, recommended both [illegible]

Contributors

CHARLES BELLA, a resident of Mexico, and formerly principal of the American High School in Mexico City, is author of "Mexico, an Interpretation," and other books.

WITTER BYNNER is a poet and playwright, and translator, with Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, of "The Jade Mountain," an anthology.

VIRGINIA WOOLF is the English novelist and critic. Her latest book is "To The Lighthouse."

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ALLEN TATE is a poet and critic from the South, now living in New York.

[illegible] H. WALTON is engaged in newspaper work. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr.

ROBERTS DUNCAN, poet and critic, has recently published a novel, "In Such a Night."

WALTER F. KORN is a young Chicago writer who has contributed verse and criticism to numerous periodicals.

LAWRENCE S. MORRIS has contributed sketches, stories and articles to various periodicals.

of his interview with His Excellency we quote: "I met Mr. Richards as he stepped into the elevator just after he left the executive offices. Mr. Richards appeared dazed, and said he was dumbfounded at the attitude shown by Governor Fuller. He asserted that Governor Fuller made the statement: 'The Madeiros matter is dismissed'; that Governor Fuller questioned him regarding his knowledge of the South Braintree hold-up; whether he was ever in South Braintree; and what information or opinion he had about the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Mr. Richards further quoted Governor Fuller as uttering the following words: 'I am convinced it was a fair trial.'"

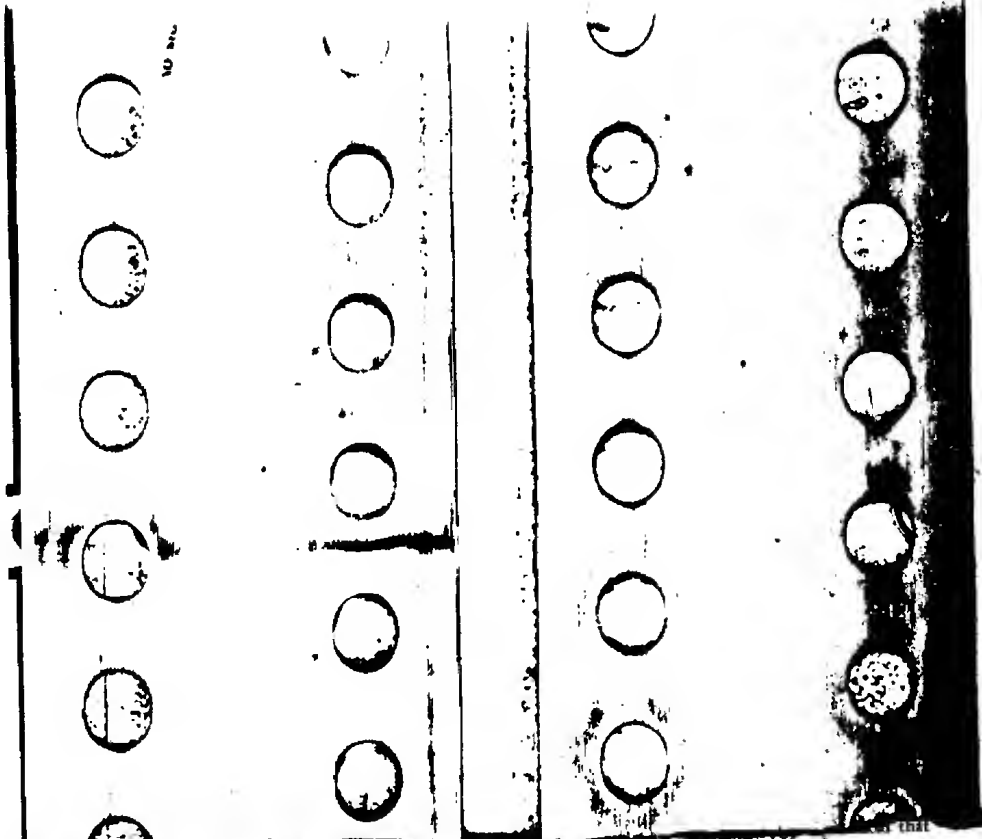
We think it rather strange that His Excellency should make the flat statement that the Madeiros matter is dismissed, and that he is convinced that the Sacco-Vanzetti trial was a fair trial, weeks before his own inquiry is concluded; before counsel have argued before him; and before the advisory committee has concluded its investigation and conferred with him.

We quote again from Mr. O'Connor's report of his interview with Mr. Richards:

"Mr. Richards said, 'The governor asked me why I waited six years to come around and tell my story about the case. Apparently, Governor Fuller does not realize

stay. Just what kin
me to me, but she seems a cousin, sister, aunt, any
kin. Her mother, at any rate, was a sister of my
's mother. Where everyone else in the family had
married fairly enough into the world's estates, she had
fallen in love with a young preacher from the North,
who in his turn had died from pneumonia caught in a
storm when he was following his circuit, and left her to
follow him in less than a year. She had given her child
to her sister to love and care for. Cousin Cornelia had
grown up, then, with my uncle, and had the same black
mammy.

My uncle would have given Cousin Cornelia a home,
but by the time he was of age, she had been teaching
school five years; she had begun at sixteen. Since her
father had been a preacher in that denomination, it was
a Methodist college in which she began her career. In
the academy she had rather distinguished herself; not that
she had won the crowning honor of Valedictorian; she
would have had to have Latin for that, and Latin had been
an extra, and she lacked the money to pay for it. But she



did [illegible] out, [illegible] ore him the record of the preliminary hearing at Quincy, where Wade was put forward as an identification witness against Sacco; and that he has not before him the record of the testimony at the inquest held at Quincy on April 17, two days after the South Braintree hold-up.

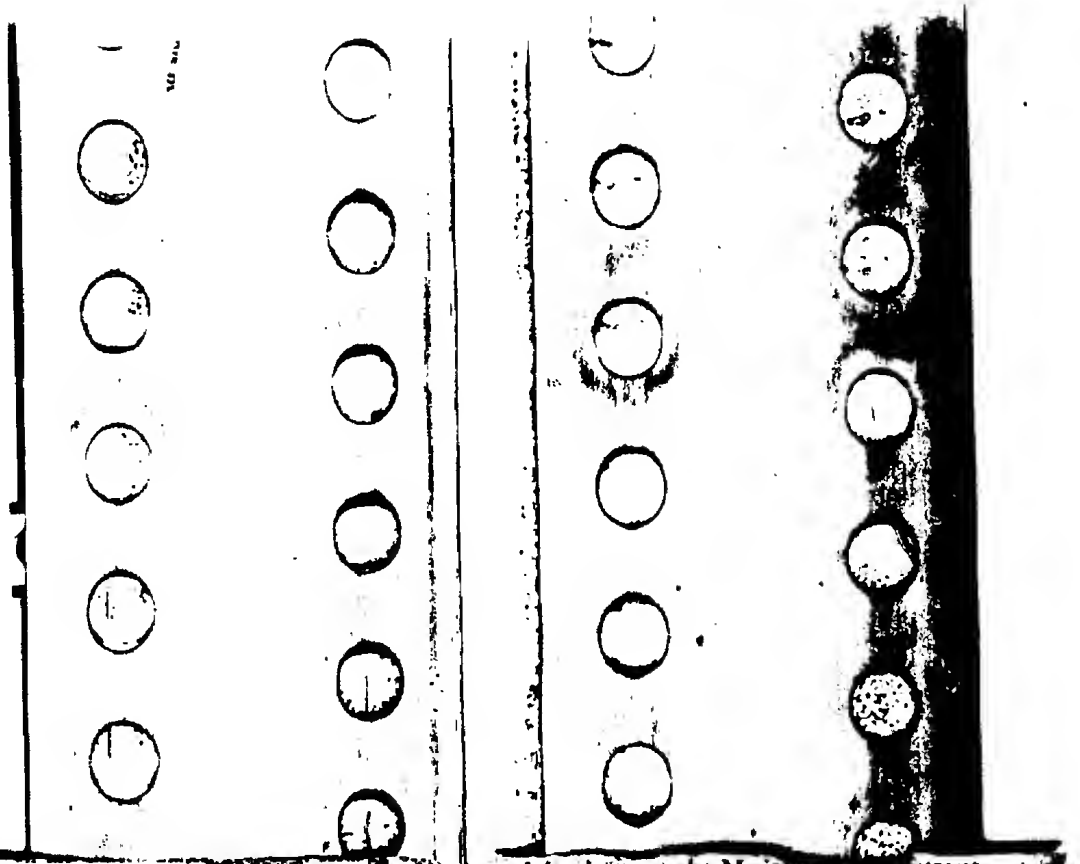
From the statement of Mr. O'Connor we quote: "The Pinkerton report on the South Braintree hold-up has this to say concerning Wade: 'April 23. Today I resumed by going to the office of the Massachusetts District Police and conferring with Capt. Proctor on what several witnesses had said in regard to the Anthony Palmisano photo . . . An auto was sent to South Braintree to bring Bostock, Frantello, Wade and Miss Mary Splaine to Boston. On their arrival, Capt. Proctor questioned them and showed a number of pictures, among them being Palmisano's, and had a stenographer take each person's story. Louis Wade, the fourth witness, told his story, but as he went along it was evident that he did not have the remotest idea as to what the bandits actually looked like. He insisted that two of them were tall and heavily built, and that the third and fourth men he saw were tall and slim. Capt. Proctor discarded Wade's testimony altogether.' "

LOUIS PELSER. This man was one of the five ide[illegible]

they feared [illegible] Johnson will [illegible] the police about them.

Department of Justice agents between the summer of 1919 and the spring of 1920 were seeking to round up the so-called Galleani band of anarchists, of which Sacco, Vanzetti, Boda and Orciani were members. We have reason to believe that His Excellency will find that one Ravarino, an under-cover man employed by the Department of Justice, had wormed his way into the confidence of the members of the Galleani band of anarchists in Boston in the fall of 1919 or the winter of 1920; that he was responsible for the arrest of Elia and Salsedo in Brooklyn in the spring of 1920; that Vanzetti learned of the activities of Ravarino on his visit to New York on April 26, 1920, in an attempt to aid Elia and Salsedo; and that he returned to Boston with the knowledge that the Department of Justice had secured, through Ravarino, its under-cover man, the names of all or many of the Galleani anarchists.

We respectfully suggest that the information contained in the files would assist His Excellency in determining the real explanation for the supposed hurried departure of Sacco and Vanzetti from the Johnson house the night of May 5; their lies to Chief Stewart concerning Coacci and Boda, two fellow anarchists, who were, on Stewart's state-



believes in democracy in Mexico, the average land owner often calls himself a "revolutionary"—the old confusion of ends and means. Hence, in the Gómez nominating convention of the National No Reëlection party, the same orators who declared the tyranny of Díaz preferable to that of Calles were the loudest in crying for "revolutionary principles." Hence the list of "martyrs of the revolution," given such clamorous ovation, included not merely the name of the agrarian revolutionist, Emilio Zapata, but also that of Rudolfo Gallego, the Catholic "general" recently killed fighting the present government in Guanajuato. Carranza, who ordered Zapata killed, was coupled with Villa and Felipe Angeles, two outstanding rebels against his authority. Also there appeared the last of revolters against Obregón: Murguía and the ill-fated leaders of the De la Huerta reaction, Diéguez, Villareal, Alvarado, Maycote. The one remarkable omission in the long list was Felipe Carrillo, Maya chief, ex-governor of Yucatán, perhaps the only truly noble martyr of the era. Thus the convention's definition of a martyr was anyone who

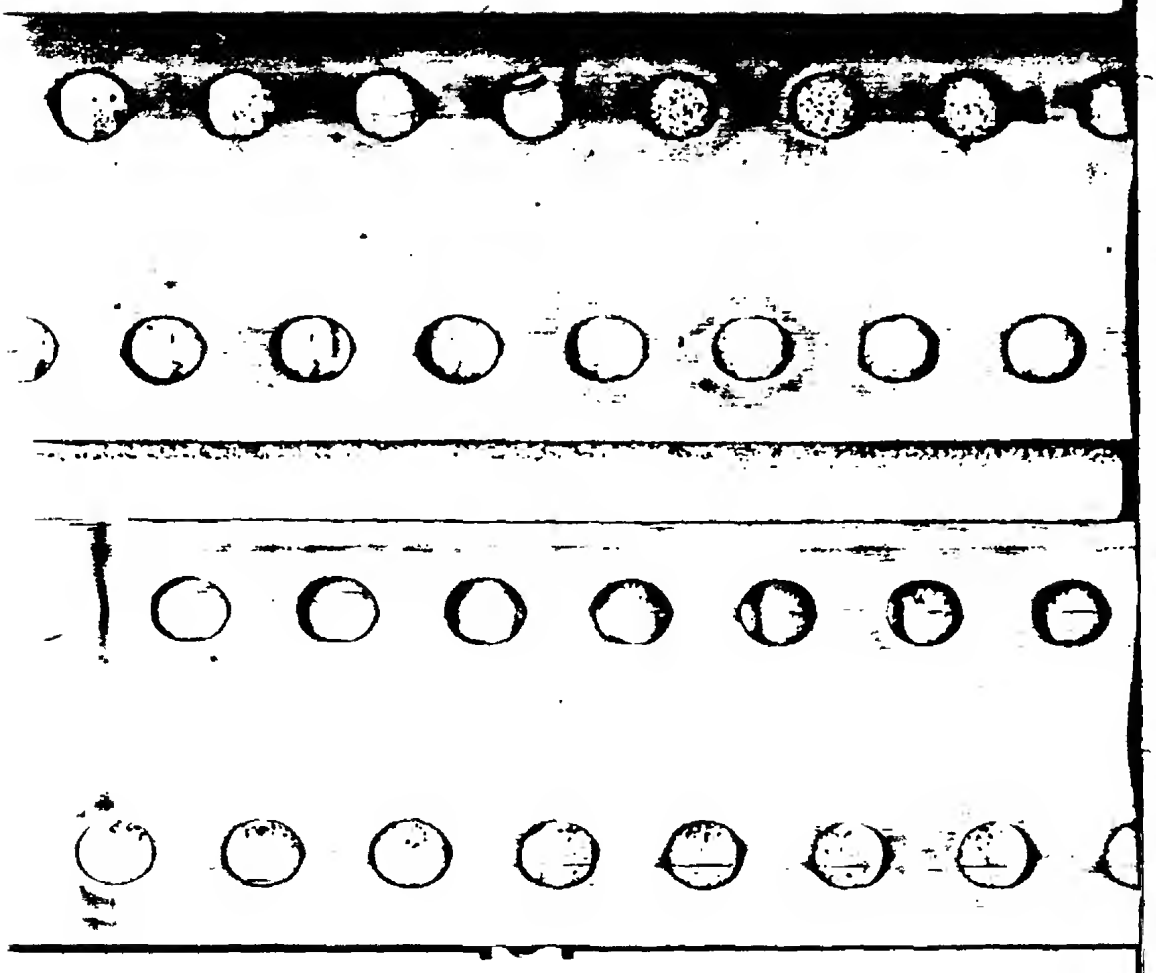
of time in present-day Mexico. [illegible] aristocratic groups, even should they be willing to support a revolutionary turn-coat, are completely demoralized and scattered; the middle class is still in embryo. Obregón is already ridiculing Gómez for not making a better contract before going over to the Church and Artichoke parties. And though the army is still the decisive factor in determining political shifts, no purely military dictatorship untinged with the *Aufklarung* can endure in a country in the throes of social change, working out problems of racial and cultural amalgamation, of economic reconstruction, passing from feudal to modern life, from a colonial to a national status—such an unadulterated rule of force could not guarantee stability.

Obregón needs less introduction than Gómez. Originally a small land-owner in Sonora, he joined in the revolt against Huerta, and in 1914 reached the capital with his troops from Sonora ahead of all his revolutionary associates. It was his military prowess which saved Carranza, and, in 1915, drove Villa north from Celaya into the Durango cactus.

feuds among the Sonora captains; nevertheless, this state has maintained sure grip on the storm-shaken helm. The fact is proof of the feebleness of Mexican democracy and the persistence of the Indian-Roman-Spanish super-state based on army control—a system little changed since Iturbide, a century ago, betrayed the crown and established the *Tres Garantías* of independence with imperial pomp.

Today, the motto "Effective Suffrage, No Reelection," which was used at the birth-throes of the Madero revolution against the dictator Díaz, a motto which graces every official *communiqué*, even that which promulgated the reëlection amendment last year, is as purely decorative as the bedraggled toga of republicanism which scarcely conceals the hairy chest of the military tradition of Ahuitzotl, Cortés, and Santa Ana. Obregón is obliged to demand reëlection to preserve the main drive of the Revindicating regime toward agrarian reform, regulation of foreign capital, conservation of resources, anti-clericalism, labor emancipation, the expansion of popular initiative—things which, in [illegible] may ultimately enforce orderly political succ[illegible]. Even today the army *tuchuns* must ma[illegible] show of consulting these determining factors. Unfortunately, many of the new popular organizations, such as Labor, have been vitiated by being lifted too soon to the official banquet *salon*. And all these tendencies, and the organizations representing them, are likely to be thwarted and blighted, whichever candidate reaches the throne.

The government itself is always a powerful factor in elections. Official machinery is apparently hoisting Obregón. The government's position in the coming election has been affected by the Yaqui war, the international difficulties, and the Catholic question, conflicts which have aggravated the customary business depression of the campaign period. Economically, Mexico has toiled steadily up-grade ever since it came so near to anarchy, in 1915, after Huerta's downfall. This year, stringency due to the petroleum situation, bad crops, and political crises has already made itself felt. True, the



PERSONAL GLIMPSES
Continued

Van[illegible] eleven witnesses testify to [illegible] in Plymouth th day. Joseph [illegible] peddler, who sa Vanzetti some suit[illegible] placed the day by receipt for payment of taxes. Vario women testified they had bought fish fr him. A boat builder remembered meeti him that day.

No effort was made to trace the $15,0 contents of the two boxes seized by t hold-up men. Various explanations w offered, but none substantiated.

The case was presented to the jury July 14 after a trial of two weeks. T jury deliberated five hours and brought i verdict of first degree murder.

The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, in consideration of the nearby case, h brought out in argument, introduced Professor Hurley of the Suffolk Law Sch to the effect that the Italians "were victed by atmosphere, not eviden The radical papers of the country, course, take this attitude, exprest i far less restrained manner. "Tr crush to earth in North America, ar in Paris, in Spain, in Italy, in the Argen Republic!" cries the Butte *Bull* "The Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations h shown the kept-press editors that the has passed when the guiltless can quietly strangled for their views of social order. They can be strangled, haps, but not quietly!" The New *World*, which has been investigating case, notes that the "Propagandists h played a safe game. If Sacco and Var are set free it will be hailed as a victory the forces of injustice; if they are exec they will be looked upon as martyrs either case great numbers of peop foreign lands will think the worst of A ican courts." Nevertheless, declares World, "if there was a mistrial, the U States will be as much intereste Europe to find it out and to redres wrong."

In the course of its investigation, *World* editor says:

> Among the first findings are an ob office in *Boston from* which publicit been issued and three very much astoni young enthusiasts who set out to disc the evidence in a murder trial and by creating what looks like an interna issue. Their cry of "Save Sacco and zetti!" has been taken up by so voices that they are swept away in th fusion.

Taking up "the mushroom gro this new *cause célèbre*, hatched in a l office and transplanted into Italy, America, Switzerland, Belgium, N Portugal—leaving its imprint in v and bloodshed," *The World's* inves writes:

> Actual violence commenced upon ber 21—more than a week preceding day upon which sentence was to been pronounced upon the two leaders convicted of murder.

courts essential to their protection. An appeal for a new trial is pending, and if that is denied the case will probably go to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. Furthermore, a large sum of money has been raised for their defense and able counsel have been provided.

PERSONAL GLIMPSES
Continued

General Hollis's office. Mr. Hollis kicked it with his foot but was not injured. He had received many threatening letters from Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers.

HAVANA, Oct. 30. — Major-General Crowder and the members of the United States Legation were menaced by radicals distributing Sacco-Vanzetti literature through the streets. Seven of the radicals [illegible]ested. The literature called con[illegible] dagger of vengeance of the bou[illegible]

BU[illegible]s, Oct. 31.—William H. Robertso[illegible] American Consul General, received let[illegible] warning him that unless Sacco and Vanzetti were saved a "stick of dynamite would be prepared."

LIMA, Peru, Oct. 31.—The American Embassy received a letter stating: "If these two innocent beings are put to death you will pay with your lives."

PORTO RICO, Oct. 19.—Radical newspapers and organizations call for release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

AMSTERDAM, Oct. 14.—French newspapers reported an "incessant agitation in Holland from one end of the country to the other." Here too American representatives were flooded with appeals for Sacco and Vanzetti.

VERA CRUZ, Oct. 7—"Crime of North American imperialism" is discuss in Anarchist papers. Literature distributed at Communist meetings.

ALGIERS, Sept. 30.—Robert Oliver appealed to the French and Italian colonies. Various meetings were held. Oliver's appeal is: "The Algerian proletariat must join its protest to that of the proletariats of of other countries so that these two latest victims of imperialism shall not be assassinated. Algerian comrades, get together, and let us act before it is too late.

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, Oct. 1.—Metal workers and chauffeurs proclaim boycott of American products and general strike. Big posters bearing the photographs of the two men were placarded over the city. For two days the city was paralyzed. American representatives bombarded with protests.

BERNE, Nov. 1.—"Space is lacking to give a complete report of the agitation made in Switzerland for Sacco and Vanzetti," reports *Il Risveglio*. Protests were sent to the American Legation by 500 members of the Workingmen's Union at the first congress here.

MOSCOW, Nov. 1.—Swiss newspapers reported street demonstrations in Moscow for Sacco and Vanzetti. Agitators distributed literature upon the streets. The Third Internationale in Moscow is now behind the world-wide demonstrations through its organizations in various countries.

This is the list of cities thus far available. Minor protests in other parts of the globe are not included. In each city mentioned the Sacco and Vanzetti case was not merely an incident—it was a vital issue. In each city mentioned American representatives were harassed, America denounced.

A postscript to the list given above is contained in a dispatch from Washington dated November 26, which runs:

John W. Dye, American consul at Juarez, has been threatened with death if the United States Government permits the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, according to a cablegram received at the State Department to-day.

A letter warning him was forwarded by Dye to the Department. It was signe "Committee for the Syndicate of Truck men, Port of Vera Cruz."

Even such liberal, if not radical, Ame can weeklies as *The Nation* and *The Ne Republic*, deplore the "direct action" the Communists. "Bomb throwing Paris is likely only to bring Sacco an Vanzetti nearer to the electric chair says *The Nation*, which believes that " a larger sense it is not so much Sacco an Vanzetti as American justice which is trial. One hundred and thirty years a French mobs hailed America as the seat liberty; to-day they call us the center capitalism's worst tyranny." *The Ne Republic* observes that "The men were co victed of a private crime on what seems have been insufficient evidence. T chance of saving them from execution d pends largely on arousing public opini on their behalf." Nevertheless, conclu the editor,

The American public is jealous of forei interference and sensitive on the subject social *crime*. Once convinced that the men are dangerous to society, and that the are for that reason the object of inte vention by foreign radical forces, publ opinion is too likely to react strong against them, to hold that whether gu or not they should be handled as enemie the social order and that it is a matte national prestige to hang them. *lesson of the* Chicago anarchists' cas obvious.

A rather more general, and more servative, view is taken by the Philadel *Inquirer*. Under the headline of "Fictit Martyrs to a Futile Cause," it observe

It will not be surprizing if the disord *demonstrations in* Europe in behalf o two Italian Communists found guilt murder by a Massachusetts jury are peated in American cities. Such is sai be the program of American Radi They have a perfect right, of course protest against what they believe to injustice. The wisdom of doing so is open to question. The likehood violent language will be used, lead perhaps, to violent acts, is giving the p of Boston, which appears to be the h quarters of the agitation, some con They fear lest bombs may form a pa the argument.

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti, of paratively little importance in itself, become, as it were by chance, a rall point for the forces of revolution. issue which they have thus raised is a f one. The two men were fairly tr Whether they were fairly convicted be doubtful. There is a conflict of evid as to their identity with *two men* undeniably committed highway ro and murder. It is said that both have plete alibis. The jury that convicted were obviously not convinced of tho possibly they should have been.

Objection is also taken to the ju charge, which is described as preju and partial. For this accusation appears to be no sufficient ground.

If Sacco and Vanzetti are indeed cent, they have nothing to fear, nor this outcry against the Massach

Everywhere the hoarse shouting of the "Internationale"—the clarion call of revolution—was blended with the appeal of the Boston office: "Save Sacco and Vanzetti!"

Then—

PARIS, Oct. 19.—A hand-grenade exploded in the home of Ambassador Herrick. It was deposited upon a table in the embassy, carefully wrapt in a box labeled "Perfume." Ambassador Herrick's valet was wounded.

BRUSSELS, Oct. 19.—Belgian Communists attended various meetings in protest of the Sacco-Vanzetti conviction. Demonstrations were held in front of the American Embassy. The police attacked the crowd and dispersed it.

PARIS, Oct. 21.—Hundreds of mass meetings preceded a street demonstration and a march upon the American Embassy. This was planned by the Anarchist Alliance and the radical newspapers. Two squadrons of cavalry, helmeted troopers, armed police, charged mobs near the embassy. A bomb was thrown by a fanatic in the midst of violent encounters. Twenty were killed. Six policemen were wounded.

PARIS, Oct. 22.—Ten thousand troops guarded the city while as large a number of radicals paraded the streets. Minor conflicts with the authorities were reported in various parts of the city.

BORDEAUX-MARSEILLES-LYONS, Oct. 22.—Clamorous crowds gathered in front of the offices of the American Consuls General in these cities and demanded the immediate release of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Not only in the big cities of France did such things as these take place. The Sacco-Vanzetti case filtered into the provinces. Parisian papers carry accounts of visits of agitators to the villages, where, to quote *Libertaire*, "the peasants listened, interested, with their mouths a little opened. What could they do, these isolated ones, except to pour out their pennies that others might carry on the struggle?"

The course of the movement in France included the demand for a boycott of American goods; incessant appeals for demonstrations in front of the American Embassy. "Stop at nothing," rang the slogan—and French Anarchists heeded.

PARIS, Oct. 23.—Fifty threatening letters were received by Ambassador Herrick. Five thousand of the Parisian police were mobilized. The members of the Republican Guard, battalions of infantry and cavalry were drafted. The city wore "the aspect of a state of siege."

ROME, Oct. 23.—Thousands gathered in the streets in demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti. This followed mass meetings, verbal and printed propaganda. In a conflict with the police more than one hundred men and women were arrested.

Meetings were held in Galliate, Sulmona, Orvisto, Luinn. Orders of the day were voted to boycott American goods. Each meeting, so the newspaper reported, roused listeners "to the boiling point." In the Chamber of Deputies the Radical members demanded intercession by the Italian Government. This was promised if Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned finally.

LONDON, Oct. 23.—Sylvia Pankhurst planned a demonstration of Anarchists to Ambassador Harvey's home, but few responded.

STOCKHOLM, Oct. 26.—Resolutions were passed at a meeting of labor unions demanding the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. These were forwarded to Ira Nelson Morris, the American Minister.

LISBON, Nov. 1.—A bomb was placed upon the door-step of American Consul

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SACCO AND VANZET

FINAL LEGAL BATTLE STAGED BEFORE STATE HIGH COURT

Guards Bristle Everywhere as Arguments Are Heard—Atty. Hill Presents Case for Men Sentenced to Death

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE

only cases admitted. The court room was crowded when the crier called court. None was allowed to stand.

The opening voice of the court officer called court as the four justices solemnly filed down the room. Judge Braley, senior justice and presiding in the absence of Chief Justice Rugg, who is sick, presided. He sat in the centre. On his right sat Justice Pierce, while on his left sat Justices Carroll and Wait.

As the court officer's chant "God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts" ended the justices sat down. Justice Braley nodded to Atty. Hill, who at once rose.

Representing the commonwealth were Atty.-Gen. Arthur K. Reading, Asst.-Attys.-Gen. F. Delano Putnam, and R. Amasa Cutler, together with Asst.-Dist.-Atty. Dudley F. Ramsey.

HILL ASKS MORE TIME

Hill, instead of opening his argument, said:

"I am going to ask for more time to say argument."

Braley—You may understand, Mr. Hill, that you may have all the time you may think you need.

Usually arguments before the supreme court are limited to an hour, and rarely do such arguments take the full hour.

Hill then launched into his argument. He traced the legal history of the case, explained how the question raised had arisen, and referred to the stay of sentence which he had asked Judge Thayer to grant, saying he did not think Judge Thayer had the power to grant it.

Braley—Do you waive it? (The request for a stay of sentence.)

Hill—I doubt that Judge Thayer had the power to—

Braley—You have sufficiently answered, Mr. Hill.

Hill—I'd like to finish my sentence. I doubt that Judge Sanderson had the power to grant it, either.

Hill—The motion had as its basis alleged prejudices on the part of the presiding justice, although it had the additional ground of newly discovered evidence, which I shall discuss later. I regard it as present as a very minor part. I do not waive it, however."

Hill then told of the visit to the home of Chief Justice Hall of the superior court and described how Judge Hall granted that the motion be heard by Judge Thayer. Hill said no exception was taken by counsel at that time, of course, because it seemed to him that Judge Hall's action was an administrative act, and that counsel could take exceptions in court at a later date. He said counsel was received at Judge Hall's home with the utmost courtesy and that exceptions were saved by counsel as early as possible in open court.

"At the hearing before Judge Thayer," continued Atty. Hill, "counsel protested [illegible] Judge Thayer's hearing [illegible] the court [illegible] in proceeding [illegible] counsel [illegible] motion [illegible] the foundation of the case and overshadows everything else. Although motion for the new trial in Dedham and that in Boston for a writ of error were supported by statements by Judge Thayer which we claim show settled prejudice."

Atty. Hill said Judge Thayer had exhibited toward counsel "an strong and vivid prejudice early in the trial. I refer to Mr. Moore, who appeared in court as counsel for the defendants," he added.

Atty. Hill then said:

"Our contention is that Judge Thayer's state of mind as disclosed by these statements as well as by his behavior in the trial of the case are a travesty on the words—if we are to say that the defendants had a trial 'as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit.'

"The evidence in both cases is largely the same, though in the Suffolk case there is some additional evidence we were unable to get before Judge Thayer in the Norfolk case. Under the circumstances I am going to urge upon the court to consider the evidence the same in both cases, though that is not within the strict letter of the law, but present counsel only came into the case on Aug. 4 and pressure on counsel has been extreme.

"I will now take up the evidence. This evidence is partly in the form of affidavits and partly in the form of evidence following the Shed vs. Elevated case, of an affidavit of some one who had interviewed a witness, but the witness did not sign the affidavit, not on the ground that the facts in the affidavit were not so, but for some other reason. That is the affidavit of Crocker, who lived in the University Club where Judge Thayer was living and which affidavit Mr. Crocker declined to sign on the ground that he wished to volunteer nothing in the case. We endeavored to summon Crocker before Judge Sanderson, but he was either out of town, or—at any rate—we were unable to find him with all diligence.

"The other affidavits are in the form of offers of proof. It will appear that all these people are of substance and good reputation, and that they all can either be summoned or if they are out of the state, their evidence can be secured as depositions. Their evidence can be, and if a hearing is granted, will be put before the court.

REFERS TO REPORTER

"I will now read what is the gist of the affidavits."

Atty. Hill at this point read parts of each of the affidavits. He referred to Frank Sibley, Boston newspaper man, "long a reporter on the Globe," and said: "You all know the custom at trials of a subsidy official, of judges, counsel and reporters going to lunch at the same place."

He next read Mrs. Lois Bennett's affidavit and stated she was "a lady engaged in philanthropic work, who attended the trial as a representative of the Salvation Army. [illegible] talked with Judge Thayer in [illegible] burst forth. Few of the [illegible] from their seats, fearing [illegible] lose them.

After the recess, Atty. [illegible] as follows:

"I hope to be shor[illegible] honors may expect from [illegible] tedious statements of f[illegible] recess."

Up to the recess Atty. [illegible] an outline of the facts [illegible] the case, indicating that [illegible] he would argue on the [illegible] exceptions. Prefacing h[illegible] said:

"The fundamental p[illegible] clearly deductible that [illegible] law is of little moment [illegible] there are three subsid[illegible] raised by this record."

DEFINES QUE[illegible]

Atty. Hill then de[illegible] questions. The first, [illegible] whether Judge Thayer [illegible] said he had shown hi[illegible] his remarks could po[illegible] fendants a fair trial an[illegible] entitled under the feder[illegible] The second point, he sa[illegible] the question of Judge [illegible] prejudice of any other [illegible] has said legally be de[illegible]

The third point he [illegible] either of the [illegible] have [illegible]

Guards T[illegible]

Police officers a[illegible] house where the full b[illegible]

ACCO AND VANZETTI

IAL LEGAL BATTLE STAGED BEFORE STATE HIGH COURT

rds Bristle Everywhere as Arguments Are Heard—Atty. Hill Presents Case for Men Sentenced to Death

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE

as admitted. The court room rded when the crier called court. as allowed to stand.

rosing voice of the court officer ourt as the four Justices solemnly the room. Judge Braley, ustice and presiding in the of Chief Justice Rugg, who is sided. He sat in the centre right sat Justice Pierce, while ft sat Justices Carroll and Wait. e court officer's chant "God e Commonwealth of Massa- ended the justices sat down. Braley nodded to Atty. Hill, who rose.

senting the commonwealth were n. Arthur K. Reading, Asst. m. F. Delano Putnam, and R. ather, together with Asst. Dist. ley P. Rooney

ILL ASKS MORE TIME

ned of opening his argument,

going to ask for more time in ment."

—You may understand, Mr you may have all the time you k you need

ly arguments before the su- urt are limited to an hour, and such arguments take the full

en launched into his argument, d the legal history of the case, d how the question raised had d referred to the stay of sen- ich he had asked Judge Thayer saying he did not think "that and the power to grant it.

—Do you waive it? (The request y of sentence.)

doubt that Judge Thayer had

—You have sufficiently answered.

I'd like to finish my sentence. I nat Judge Sanderson had the grant it, either

The motion had as its basis prejudices on the part of the justice, although it had their al ground of newly discovered which I shall discuss later. I t at present as a very minor do not waive it, however."

en said of the visit to the home f Justice Hall of the superior nd described how Judge Hall that the motion be heard by Thayer Hill said no exception en by counsel at that time, of because it seemed to him that Hall's action was an admiss- act, and that counsel could take ns in court at a later date. His unsel was received at Judge home with the utmost courtesy t compliments were paved by coun- arty as possible in open court. e hearing before Judge Thayer, ed Atty. Hill, "counsel protested Judge Thayer's hearing it." ll have discussed to ask the court ment in passing upon the papers ether as they had to be pre- ally. He called attention to t of the Hanged report which he

the foundation of the case and over- shadows everything else. Motions for the new trial in Dedham and that in Boston for a writ of error were supported by statements by Judge Thayer which we claim show actual prejudice."

Atty. Hill said Judge Thayer had exhibited toward counsel "an strong and vivid prejudice early in the trial. I refer to Mr. Moore, who appeared in court as counsel for the defendants," he added.

Atty. Hill then said

"Our contention is that Judge Thayer's state of mind as disclosed by these statements as well as by his behavior in the trial of the case are a travesty on the trial—if we dare to say that the defendants had a trial at free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit.'

"The evidence in both cases is largely the same, though in the Suffolk case there is some additional evidence we were unable to get before Judge Thayer in the Norfolk case. Under the circumstances I am going to urge upon the court to consider the evidence the same in both cases, though that is not within the strict letter of the law, but present counsel only came into the case on Aug 4 and pressure on counsel has been extreme.

"I will now take up the evidence. This evidence is partly in the form of affidavits and partly in the form of evidence following the Sabri vs. Elevated case, of an affidavit of some one who had interviewed a witness, but the witness did not sign the affidavit, not on the ground that the facts in the affidavit were not so, but for some other reason. That is the affidavit of Crocker, who lived in the University Club, where Judge Thayer was living, and which affidavit Mr. Crocker declined to sign on the ground that he wished to volunteer nothing in the case. We endeavored to summon Crocker before Judge Sanderson, but he was either out of town, or, at any rate—we were unable to find him with all diligence.

"The other affidavits are to the form of offers of proof. It will appear that all these people are of substance and good reputation, and that they all can either be summoned or if they are out of the state, their evidence can be secured on depositions. Their evidence can be, and if a hearing is granted, will be put before the court.

REFERS TO REPORTER

"I will now read what is the gist of the affidavits."

Atty. Hill at this point read parts of each of the affidavits. He referred to Frank Sibley, Boston newspaper man, "long a reporter on the Globe," and said "You all know the custom at trials of a shady official, of judges, counsel and reporters going to lunch at the same place."

He next read Mrs. Lois Rankom's affidavit and stated she was "a lady engaged in philanthropic work, who attended the trial as a representative of the Federation of Judges, counsel and reporters, Judge Thayer, in the trial

Police officers and [illegible] house where the fall [illegible]

burst forth. Few of the spectators [illegible] from their seats, fearing [illegible] lose them.

After the recess, Atty. Hill [illegible] as follows:

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ACCO JUROR'S H

LEWIS McHARDY RECEIVED DEATH THREAT IN LETTER

East Milton Man Ignored Warning, Tearing Strip Missive and Throwing It Away—Today's Blast Rocks Countryside for Miles

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE

McHardy. His nose was crushed. The other three members of the family escaped with a shaking up and minor bruises.

A similar explosion on June 1, 1926, wrecked the home of Samuel Johnson in East Bridgewater, who apparently had been mistaken by Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers for his brother, Simon Johnson, who, with his wife, furnished the police with the information that led to the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. Mrs. Simon Johnson had collected the reward for their arrest, and subsequently was a start witness for the state.

Many details of the Johnson house bombing were identical with that of today. In each case the bomb was placed at the right front corner of the house. Both explosions occurred at 3:30 in the morning. Both bombs did about the same amount of damage, having been loaded with an explosive of like quantity and quality. And in both explosions the occupants of the house escaped serious injury.

Lewis McHardy five years ago had received a threat that his house would be blown up. He paid little attention to the threat then, and had almost forgotten it when he awoke this morning amid a shower of plaster and swaying walls and furniture.

The two McHardy boys, John and Theodore, were the first to recover from the shock. They ran downstairs to the room of their sister Helen. Finding her uninjured, all three went to their parents' room and aided them out of the house.

The front stairway, over which they made their way, was a wreck. It had been cracked from top to bottom along one side, was twisted out of shape, and half buried beneath fallen plaster.

GOES GUNNING FOR BOMBERS

Mrs. McHardy and her daughter were cared for by neighbors. John took a shotgun and went about in the hope of finding a trace of the bombers, but soon returned. The police had already been notified by Mrs. Mary Doyle of 511 Pleasant Street, who telephoned them that a terrific explosion had taken place. Her home, 300 yards from the McHardy home, had every window in it shattered.

Windows in other homes as far as a quarter of a mile away had their panes broken. In the home of William Wade, on Reservation road, a mile away, windows facing that had been drawn the evening before were raised by the explosion. The homes throughout the Blue Hills Lawn section of East Milton were jarred.

The pictures were knocked off the walls in the home of Thomas Cronin, on the Blue Hills road, fifty odd yards from the McHardy home.

[illegible] believe that the bomb contained a projectile. They found a circular disk of wood which they thought at first was a part of the bomb, but afterward it appeared to have been merely the bottom section of a discarded Japanese lantern.

A week ago a dog belonging to the McHardys was run over by an automobile. The dog was so badly injured it had to be shot.

MASS OF WRECKAGE

The interior of the McHardy home [illegible] a mass of broken glass, plaster, broken timbers, furniture and wearing apparel.

The first floor, where the force of the explosion was greatest, is twisted and warped out of shape.

On the side of the house where the bomb was placed the walls are either bulged out or in so that nothing on that side remains perpendicular.

The upright two by four timbers [illegible] crushed or bent by some great force. All have been forced from their original positions, on the side of the house [illegible]

BOSTON TRAVELER, TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1927

SACCO JUROR'S HOME WRECKED BY BOMB,

LEWIS McHARDY RECEIVED DEATH THREAT IN LETTER

East Milton Man Ignored Warning, Tearing up Missive and Throwing It Away—Today's Blast Rocks Countryside for Miles

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Lewis McHardy five years ago had received a threat that his house would be blown up. He paid little attention to the threat then, and had almost forgotten it when he awoke this morning amid a shower of plaster and swaying walls and furniture.

The two McHardy boys, John and Theodore, were the first to recover from the shock. They ran downstairs to the room of their sister Helen. Finding her uninjured, all three went to their parents' room and aided them out of the house.

The front stairway, over which they made their way, was a wreck. It had been smacked from top to bottom along one side, was twisted out of shape, and half buried beneath fallen plaster.

GOES GUNNING FOR BOMBERS

Mrs. McHardy and her daughter were cared for by neighbors. John took a shotgun and went gunning for the bombers, but finding a trace of the bombers, but finding a trace of the bombers, but soon returned. The police had already been notified by Mrs. Mary Doyle of 513 Pleasant street, who telephoned them that a terrific explosion had taken place. Her home, 100 yards from the McHardy house, had every window in it shattered.

Windows in other homes as far as a quarter of a mile away had their frames broken. In the home of William Wade, on Brewstering road, a mile away, windows that had been drawn the night before were spared by the explosion. The homes throughout the Hundred Acre section of East Milton were rocked.

Two pictures were knocked off the wall in the home of Thomas Orcutt, on Pleasant road, fifty yards from the McHardy home.

believe that the bomb contained a powder. They found a circular disk of metal which they thought at first was a part of the bomb, but afterward it appeared to have been merely the bottom portion of a discarded Japanese lantern.

A week ago a dog belonging to the McHardy was run over by an automobile. The dog was so badly injured it had to be shot.

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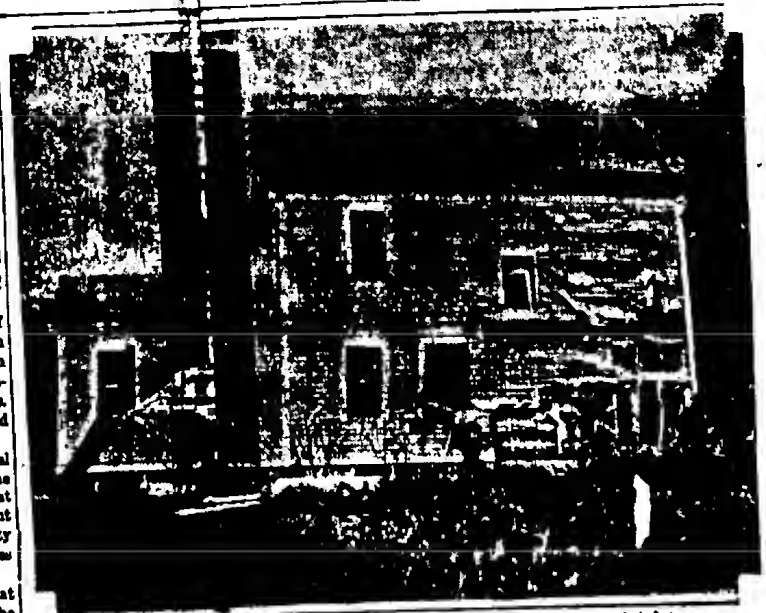
The interior of the McHardy home is a mass of broken glass, plaster, broken furniture and wearing apparel. The first floor, where the force of the explosion was greatest, is twisted and warped out of shape.

On the side of the house where the bomb was placed the walls are either bulged out or in so that nothing on this side remains perpendicular.

The upright two by four timbers are held in place by some steel band. [illegible]



Home of Lewis McHardy in Pleasant street, East Milton, wrecked by bomb today.

Front of the McHardy house, sh

BOSTON TRAVELER, TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1926

TI MAKE THEIR LAST FIGHT FOR LIFE

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No Chances at Clemency Hearing

Police Search Satchels at Hearing

Officials make a formidable guard at the Pemberton square entrance of the court house yesterday when it was the first day of appeal for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Handbags and parcels carried into the court house today, underwent a thorough search by police and court officers who formed a guard along the entrance during the Sacco case hearing.

Hear Final Sacco Case Appeal

TAXI MAN HELD FOR ROBBERY

Claimed One of Group Who Beat up Sailor in Chelsea

Frank Nolan, 20, a taxi driver of 112 Spencer avenue, Chelsea, was arraigned on a charge of robbery in the Chelsea district court today, shortly after Eugene Mendosa, a sailor on the steamer Frederick Edwin, was beaten up and robbed of $25 by several men. Judge Cutler continued the case a week while the police are conducting an investigation and search for others.

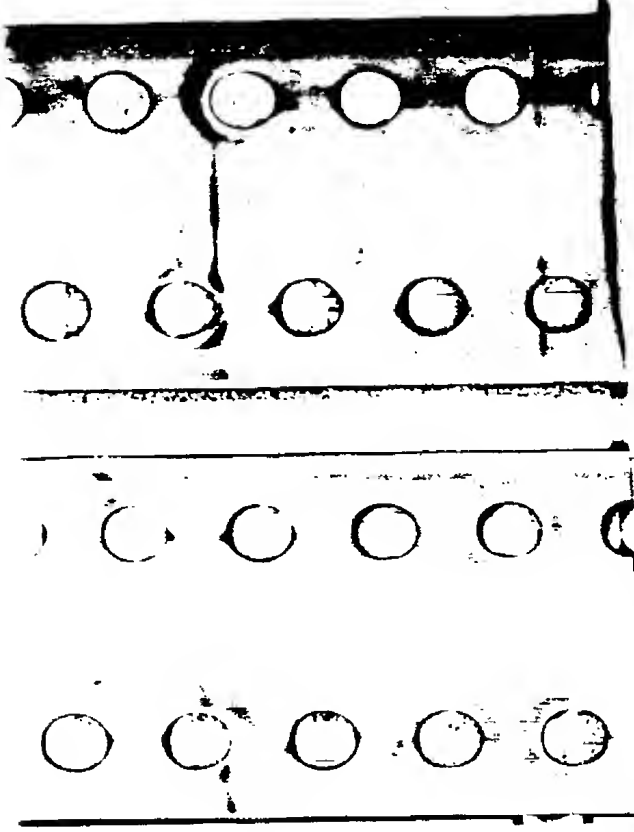
According to Mendosa, he was returning to his ship, docked at the Mexican wharf on Northeastern avenue, Chelsea, and had just entered the yard when he was set upon by a gang of seven men, who beat him up severely and

MANY MOVIE STARS IN PERIL

Reported Facing Oblivion if Proposed Economy Plan Goes Through

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 18 (AP)—The Los Angeles Times today says many famous film stars will go into a total eclipse soon if a new economy plan under formation by motion picture producers goes into effect. The new plan, learned on excellent authority, although denied by producers with vehemence, provides for the replacement of present-day stars with stars brought up from the film ranks to work at smaller salaries.

A number of secret meetings have been held, at which the problem of cut-[illegible] discussed. The



[illegible]

[illegible] Sergeant [illegible] Patrolmen Edward Lee, William Cunnion, James Farrell, John Cunnin and John W. Dolan.

When James Tuttle, aide of the Milton police, who was due to return to his duties today after a vacation, learned of the explosion he went promptly to the scene, arriving about 7:30 A. M. Police lines were roped off about the McHardy premises to bar the curious, who early began to gather in large numbers. Before daylight more than 150 had gathered, most of them neighbors which had been awakened by the detonation. After daybreak the crowds steadily increased.

Capt. Charles T. Van Amberg, state explosive expert, and State Detectives Joseph Pereira, Albert Brouillard and Michael Fleming were early on the scene.

PUZZLED BY EXPLOSIVE

One of the first to arrive was John Wade of 20 Reservation road, Milton, a contractor, who had had long experience with explosives. He said it would have required 50 pounds of dynamite to do the damage that was done. But he said he could find no trace of either the odor or the white powder that remains after a dynamite explosion. Some more potent material was used, he thought.

Back of the McHardy home is a small stretch of woods leading to a park on Edge Hill road. It was thought by the police that the bombers had come by automobile along Edge Hill road, and then had gone on foot through about 150 yards of woods to the rear of the McHardy home.

According to this theory the men, after placing their bomb, returned as they had come through the woods to their parked car on Edge Hill road and drove by that road toward Brockton. The police believe the bomb was dropped into a cellar window. It had ripped a hole about 2 feet deep and 6 feet across at the northeast corner of the house.

POSSIBLE AUTO CLUE

Today the police were given the registration number of a car which James H. Sullivan of 3 Haughton Place, East Milton, had seen near the McHardy home yesterday. Sullivan was on his way to mass at St. Agatha's Church when he observed the machine parked at the side of the street. In it were five rough looking men, he said. They pointed in the direction of the McHardy house, and their actions so aroused his suspicions that he made a note of the car's registration number.

The theft of 50 sticks of dynamite at Reading on Sunday was reported to the state police. On the same day 13 percussion caps were taken from a Quincy quarry.

Patrolman Andrew Donaghue, who was on duty in the vicinity of the McHardy home, said he had passed the home at 3 A. M., and at that time saw no one about.

The two McHardy boys, John and Theodore, were the last to enter the house the evening before. They came home at about 11 o'clock and went to bed. The other members of the family had already retired.

Officer William H. Burns today arrested two men on Randolph avenue, Milton. They were questioned on suspicion that they were connected with the bombing, but later were released.

A gaping hole that had been torn through the house led the police to [illegible]

[illegible] In the kitchen, every piece of china and crockery is on the floor in pieces. Pots and pans are scattered about. Here, as in the other rooms of the house, with one exception, every window has been broken, in fact, the window frames have been torn from the building.

The stairs to the second floor are littered with plaster and broken timbers. Here the force of the explosion was greatest as the stairs lead directly to the second floor from the point where the bomb exploded.

The bathroom on the second floor directly over where the bomb was placed, is a twisted mass of pipes, [illegible] and bathroom fittings.

The bathtub and other bathroom things were thrown many feet. Water pipes were torn from the walls.

In the front bedroom, where Mr. and Mrs. McHardy were sleeping, the walls and windows are wrecked.

MRS. McHARDY INJURED

On Mrs. McHardy's bed, which is nearest the front window of the house, is a pile of broken glass and the picture which struck Mrs. McHardy when it fell. This picture is about three feet square in a heavy frame. The glass on this picture is not broken.

In the rear bedroom, where the daughter Helen was asleep, lies the bedroom door where it was forced from its position in the doorframe. Of the two windows in this room, only one has a broken pane of glass.

The lace curtains from the windows have been buried beneath the wreckage. Clothes from closets, thrown about by the back draft of the explosion, also are on the floor.

FULLER BACK AT DESK TODAY

Council Meeting Tomorrow —Last Before Sacco Execution

Gov. Fuller did not come to Boston at all yesterday, remaining at his summer home in Rye, where he spent most of the day entertaining his two sons, Alvan, Jr., who has practically recovered from his appendicitis operation, and four-year-old Peter.

His two daughters, Lydia and Mary, came to Boston early in the day with their mother, and were operated on for tonsils and adenoids at the Massachusetts General Hospital by Dr. George L. Tobey, Jr. The girls came through the operation successfully and were well on their way to recovery last evening, according to attaches at the Governor's office.

The Governor is expected at his desk this morning, and has a long list of appointments. Tomorrow the executive council will hold its last meeting prior to the date set for the execution of Sacco, Vanzetti and Madeiros.

CAMBRIDGE BOY BADLY INJURED BY MOTOR CAR

Four-year-old James Armstrong, son of Albert J. Armstrong, was hit by a motor car while playing in front of his home, 84 Pine street, Cambridge, yesterday afternoon.

Patrolman John W. D[illegible] Reveal to be a part of the [illegible]

POLICE READ[illegible] FOR BOM[illegible]

Supt. Crowley Ord[illegible] serve Riot Squad[illegible] pared for Act[illegible]

The details of police spres[illegible] city are ready and prepar[illegible] emergency, according to Su[illegible] who made this statement a[illegible] of the Milton explosion [illegible] orders were sent to each sta[illegible] the reserve riot squad deta[illegible] instant work. The men at [illegible] were also warned to be ex[illegible] It is known that all public b[illegible] many private residences of [illegible] bected in some way with the [illegible] until case are guarded. To[illegible] detail was thrown about the [illegible]

It has yet to be decided [illegible] men would stay at station h[illegible] who are off duty, however, [illegible] instructions in regard to qu[illegible] tion. No officer will be all[illegible] the city, and their whereab[illegible] known at all times by comm[illegible]

Other Jur[illegible] Where T[illegible]

Names and addre[illegible] until case.

Harry King, Curv[illegible]
Alfred L. Atwood, [illegible]
John Gamley, ass[illegible]
J. Frank McNam[illegible]
John F. Dever of [illegible]
Wallace Hersey o[illegible]
Seward Parker, 51 [illegible]
Frank Waugh, 21 [illegible]
Frank P. Marden, [illegible]
George A. Gerard, [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

SEP 2 1927

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. [redacted]

I am attaching hereto for your information, copy of a report submitted by Agent Connelley at St. Louis, dated August 25, 1927, in the case of [redacted] - Vanzetti.

Very truly yours,

Director.

Encl. 242527.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/90 BY [illegible]

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
MAILED
AUG 31 1927
P.M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

2

CASE ORIGINATED AT BOSTON

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
St. Louis	8-23-27	8/16-23/27	E. J. CONNELLEY, S.A.C.

TITLE:	CHARACTER OF CASE:
Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti	Possible Anarchistic Activities of Sympathizers

61-126

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: 61-9-6

Meeting, St. Louis, of sympathizers held August 20, 1927 of little importance; no disorders have been traced to the activities of these parties. On the night of August 22, 1927 two meetings were held protesting the execution of subjects and both were broken up by the police; one arrest was made and party turned over to the Immigration Inspector. At various meetings held only a small number attended.

All Federal buildings, St. Louis, are under special guard. Any material developments occurring, the Director will be wired.

PENDING.

b2
b7c

[redacted]

DETAILS AT ST. LOUIS

Reference is made to my report dated 8-16-27 in the above entitled matter.

There have been no acts of violence in this district which can be traced to the sympathizers of the above men to date.

A meeting of the Committee for the Freedom and Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was held at the Polish-American Hall, 1938 Cass Ave., at 3 P.M. Saturday, August 20th, 1927 at which there was not more than twenty people present. This meeting was covered by uniformed and plain clothes officers and same was entirely orderly.

DETAILS:

Active in this meeting were Charles Blome of the Moulders' Union, St. Louis; Elmer McMillan of the International Labor Defense; Martin Dillman of the Teamsters' Union and John Mahalie of the International Labor Defense. The meeting was addressed by Fred C. Smith, Attorney, Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, and upon resolution of Mrs. Louise Custer of 4609 Varrelman Ave., the following telegram was sent to President Coolidge and Governor Fuller:

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		RECORDED AND INDEXED
E J Connelley		61-126-815	AUG 25 1927
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 5-Bureau, 2-St. L., 2-Boston, 1-Chicago, 1-Phila, 1-Columbus, 1-N.Y. EJC'KLM	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION A.M. AUG 25 1927	CHECKED OFF: SEP 2 1927
		ROUTED TO:	JACKETED:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/92 BY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

"Thousands of St. Louis citizens speaking through an assembled mass meeting appeal to you as our Chief Executive to intervene in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti We believe they were unjustly convicted The two men should not be put to death with their guilt in such grave widespread doubt."

McMillan, a so-called journeyman painter, stating that he was acting upon the advice of the organization of the International Labor Defense, Chicago, Ill., asked that a one day strike be held on August 22nd; also that Protest Meetings be held.

C. J. Weinbrenner, Special Agent, Missouri Pacific RR, advises that at 11:15 P.M. August 21, 1927, the engineer of the Hot Springs Special, No. 17, of the Missouri Pacific RR, South, discovered that the switch on the main line of the Missouri Pacific RR had been pried open with a bar, but as this switch was in the interlock system it turned the signal against the train and no damage was done. This happened about five pole lengths North of the Jefferson Barracks Station. No information has been obtained as to who is responsible for this, although the Special Agents of the Railroad and the police are active in trying to run same down.

There was a meeting of about one hundred sympathizers on August 22, 1927 at 11:30 P.M. at the Labor Lyceum Hall, 1243 Garrison Ave., St. Louis, which had been preceded by a parade on Easton Ave., and due to the noise, same was broken up by the police. The police met with some resistance in ejecting various persons from the hall in question and [redacted] 22 years old, Russian, factory worker, residing at Fairmount, Illinois, was arrested by Sergt. Pat Murphy when she refused to leave the hall and she was held on a charge of disturbing the peace. 67

She indicated that she had been in this country five years; was not naturalized and she is one of those who was most active in the above meeting, having addressed the crowd. Investigation as to her status as an alien is being conducted by Immigration Inspector Nash, St. Louis.

The above meeting was dispersed by Lieuts. Gunn and Tabb, Sergts. McCullough and Murphy and officers Sanders and Benda; also other officers of the Ninth District, St. Louis.

A number of standards carried by the crowd were abandoned at the hall, and one reading "Sacco and Vanzetti must not die" with a picture of an

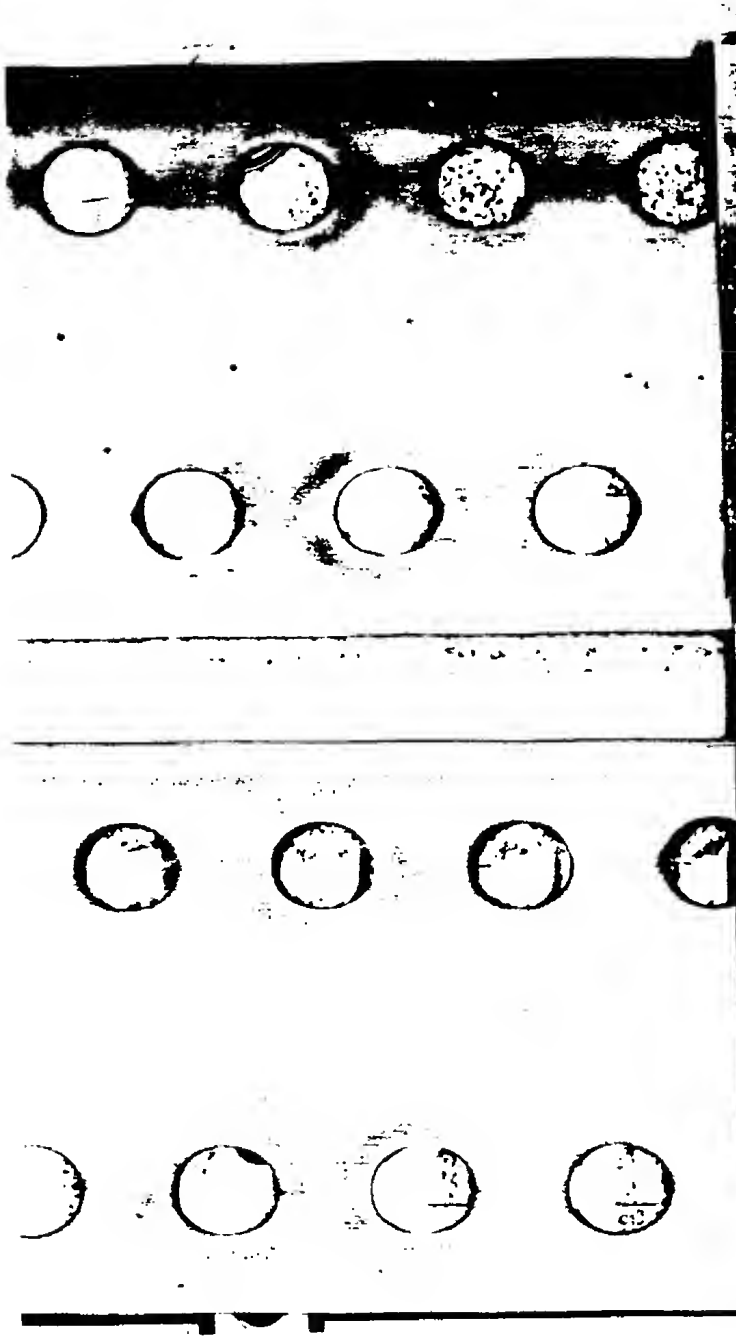
electric chair thereon bore the inscription "National Labor Defense" and was printed by the Daily Worker Publishing Co., Chicago.

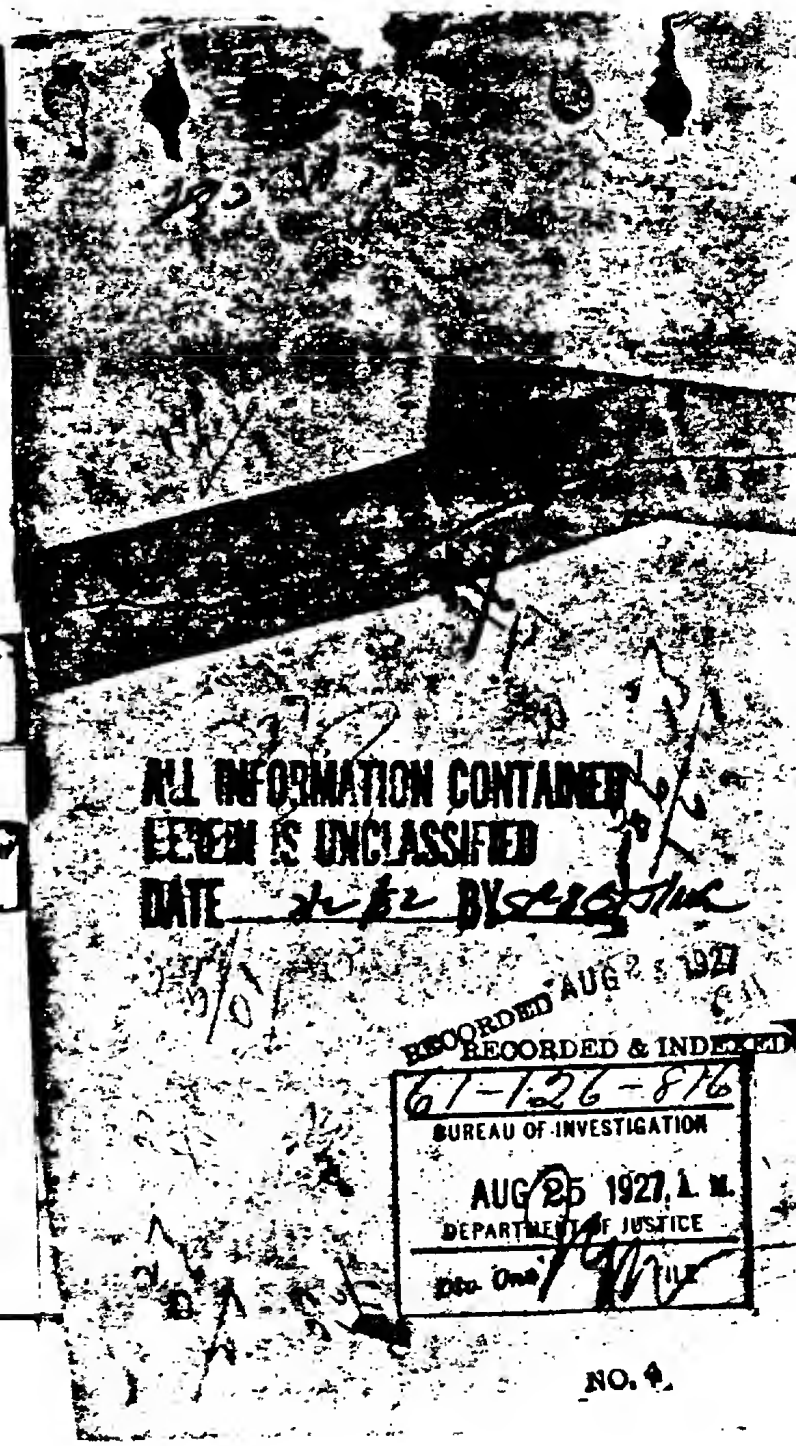
There was also another meeting held at Grand and Washington Blvds., which was dispersed due to the fact that same was interfering with traffic, same was without special incident.

All Federal buildings in St. Louis are covered by special detail of police in conjunction with the usual guard maintained.

Should any acts of violence occur which are traceable to the sympathizers of subjects, the Director will be advised.

PENDING.





ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-6-82 BY

RECORDED AUG 25 1927
RECORDED & INDEXED
61-126-876
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 25 1927 A. M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Rec. One

NO. 4.

The Last Stage.

Refusal by Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court, closely followed by a refusal by Justice Stone, to intervene in the Sacco-Vanzetti case closes another door to delay in the execution of the two men, which, unless staved by a further reprieve by the governor, will take place in a few hours. The Chief Justice has also declined to act. The only hope felt by the defense is that the governor may be persuaded to grant further reprieve to permit examination of the files of the Department of Justice relating to the case. That, however, is a forlorn expectation, as it is well understood that Gov. Fuller is already acquainted with the contents of the files, which, it is declared by an official of the department, contain nothing that in any way bears upon the guilt or innocence of the two men and reveal no activities by the Federal Government which in any degree prejudiced the interests of the defendants.

Thus the case seems to have been closed. Intense agitation, however, is to be expected during these last few hours remaining before the sentence of the law is executed. Largely signed petitions, containing numerous names that are well known to the American people, have gone to the governor asking for a last-minute reprieve on the general ground that the guilt of the condemned men has not been proved. Partisans of Sacco and Vanzetti are seeking to organize demonstrations in their behalf. Outrages may be committed, though precautions have been taken to forestall violence and mob manifestations.

The point raised regarding the contents of the Federal files is not a new one. It has heretofore been urged that the United States Government undertook to influence the course of the law in Massachusetts because of the known radical character of the accused men. Examination of the files of the Department of Justice has not been permitted previously because of their confidential character. Quite recently, however, they have been submitted to reading by unprejudiced persons, who have found in them nothing that warrants the suggestion that the Federal influence was exercised to put the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti in jeopardy.

It is to be doubted whether there is a sincere belief on the part of the counsel for the condemned men that the department files contain anything that would change the situation if revealed. The suggestion of a reprieve for the purpose of their examination is obviously a move for delay, in the hope that with the grant of additional time the wave of fomented feeling for these men may cause the governor of the State to yield. At the same time there is clear proof that the substantial public sentiment of the country supports the governor in his decision that the men are guilty, and that they have had a fair trial and should pay the penalty which the law of the State imposes for murder. So strong is that feeling that a further reprieve, adding to the already intolerable delays that have occurred in this case, would be strongly condemned throughout the country.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/2/82 BY SP2 [illegible]

61-126

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

August 17, 1927.

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR.

[redacted] I am returning herewith report signed by Mr. [redacted] as to his examination of the files of the New York Office relating to Sacco and Vanzetti; the report dated August 15, 1927 signed by Agent in Charge James L. Craven of the Boston Office relating to the same case; and the report of Special Agent William J. West of the Boston Office relating to his examination of the Bureau files with reference to this case.

These reports have been carefully examined by Mr. Parriah and myself and we fail to find anything therein bearing either directly or indirectly on the guilt or innocence of Sacco or Vanzetti.

Respectfully,

Thomas J. Cullen

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/12 BY S.S.Dmh

RECORDED
61-126-817
AUG 25 1927
Div One
NO. 4

BOSTON TRANSCRIPT AUG 26, 1927

"Ample Protection"

Says Court in Denying the Writ Sought by the Supreme Court

To the Editor of the Transcript:

In denying the petition for a writ of error in the most celebrated case of its kind in legal history, the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts used the following language:

"Our system of procedure in criminal cases makes ample provision for the protection of the rights of those who are charged with the commission of crime, by exceptions, by motion for a new trial before sentence has been passed, and by petition for a discretionary writ of error either before or after sentence.

"While this high tribunal indicated specific remedies for the correction of error in relation to the technical point under consideration, it was not called upon to summarize all the safeguards established by the law to ensure that a person accused of crime shall receive just treatment in the courts. In view of the intense interest throughout the world in the final outcome of this last application of "Massachusetts justice," it may prove enlightening to persons unfamiliar with the procedure in a capital case in the courts of Massachusetts to enumerate, as briefly as possible, the details of the extraordinary protection thrown about a person accused of murder in this state.

"Recognition of the inherent rights of the individual begins with the moment of his arrest, when the charges against him are first investigated by a carefully selected grand jury of twenty-three persons, to see if probable cause for indictment for the alleged crime exists. If an indictment is found, the charges, in the most specific detail, must be reduced to writing, and the accused is allowed to see them. The prisoner may move that the indictment be quashed as irregular or insufficient; and the decision of the court upon that point is subject to review by the justices of the Supreme Court.

"If the indictment is sustained, the preliminaries of the trial begin. The prisoner has the privilege of choosing his own counsel, and as many as he pleases; and if he is unable, because of lack of funds or backing, to provide counsel, the Commonwealth will supply counsel to defend him and pay for that service. Nor will a prisoner's plea of guilty be accepted by the court, thus saving time and money for all concerned, for the law prescribes that the case must be proved by the State, otherwise the accused goes free.

+ + +

"With the trial opened, the prisoner enjoys the right of process to compel the attendance of his witnesses and proofs. That is to say, if persons, papers or other evidence exist which may tend to prove the innocence of the accused, the law requires that these shall be produced in court, under heavy penalty for disobedience to a summons. The State also must furnish the accused with the names of its witnesses against him, although it is not required of the prisoner that he shall furnish a list of his own witnesses to the State.

[illegible] in the county of [illegible] the crime is alleged to have been committed, [illegible] when the prisoner moves, for some reason [illegible] local prejudice, fear of intimidation of witnesses or whatever it may be—for a change of venue. I.e., to put in another county where he may think he will be more fairly treated. The decision in this event lies in the discretion of the trial judge, who can hardly be regarded as personally eager to try a murder case, and this decision is subject to review by a higher court.

+ + +

"The question of guilt or innocence rests, however, with a jury of twelve men, not the judge, whose function is only to instruct the jury in the law. This jury is chosen from a long list, often including hundreds. Counsel for the prisoner is allowed ample opportunity to examine each and every juror under oath and to challenge twenty-two peremptorily, assigning no reason, and an unlimited number for cause. During their service, moreover, the jurymen are not permitted to separate, night or day, from start to finish, and are guarded and kept incommunicado by court officers.

+ + +

"The trial now proceeds before the twelve men finally chosen, and their verdict must be unanimous to convict. Attempts have been made so to change the law that the "one stubborn juror" should not be able to cause a mistrial, but all have failed, even in relation to minor and civil cases. During this trial the judge presides and rules on all questions of evidence and law, but the defense may except to any ruling or statement of the judge, and, on so-called bill of exceptions, may have the matter reviewed by the justices of the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court finds any prejudicial error in the trial, a new trial is ordered. After the verdict, if the accused has been found guilty, the defense may move for a new trial, on the ground of newly-discovered evidence, or because the verdict was not according to the evidence or for error in the trial. If the motion, which is made to the presiding judge, is denied, it may be reviewed by the Supreme Court, which may also rule the judge of the lower court. Nor is there any fixed limit to the number of motions for a new trial which may be filed. The law thus leaves the case open, in the interest of the prisoner, whether on the production of credible reason for new procedure or on mere technicality.

+ + +

"Sentence is not passed until all pending motions, if any, have been disposed of and the trial is found by the Supreme Court to have been properly conducted. Even though sentenced, however, the convicted man may, in a proper case, have a writ of error granted by the State Court, and if there denied, his counsel may even apply to the Supreme Court of the United States for review, for proper cause shown. Finally, although failing in all the courts, the prisoner may appeal to the governor of the Commonwealth, who, for any reason appearing sufficient, may commute the sentence or grant a pardon. This action may be taken for any new revelation as to the trial or for matter discovered since the trial, or even since the sentence.

[illegible] Boston, Aug. [illegible]

[illegible] YOUR [illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/92 BY

NOT RECORDED

Washington Post, Sunday, August [illegible], 1927.

PROPAGANDA IN AID OF SACCO-VANZETTI BARED BY WRITER

Dispatches of Federated Press "Colored," Frank Statement of Correspondent Here.

PROTESTS ENGENDERED IN MANY COUNTRIES

Anarchists Made to Seem Persecuted: Emotionalism of Labor Appealed To.

How a vociferous propaganda campaign has been [illegible] in the interests of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was [illegible] yesterday by Harry O'Connor, [illegible] correspondent for the Federated Press, a news agency serving labor publications in the United States and Europe.

It was the Federated Press, according to O'Connor, that first sent out the dispatches which caused the [illegible] plight of the anarchist [illegible] Vanzetti to be [illegible] widely publicized.

[illegible] dispatches were "colored."

Appealed to the Emotions.

"We were instructed to the effect that we should color the news. We had [illegible] right along that Sacco and Vanzetti were railroaded because they were radicals, and we have sent out stuff that appealed to the emotions, rather than abstract accounts of the case, because the working class is an emotional class. We never have said the men were to be executed; we have always said that they were to be murdered."

As a result of the propaganda, hundreds of thousands of mass meetings have been held in the United States and abroad, a sacco-vanzetti defense fund has been raised, and every device known to the legal profession has been employed to save the two anarchists.

Nicola Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in May, 1920, for the murder of a paymaster and a guard in South Braintree, Mass., two months previously. It was a good newspaper story, but not the kind calculated to hold up readers or cause editors to lose sleep.

Forgotten If Americans.

Had Sacco and Vanzetti been Americans, O'Connor admitted, the case would quickly have been forgotten. But the Boston correspondent of the Federated Press, he said, discovered that Sacco and Vanzetti were radicals, and then the crusade started.

When the editor of the Federated Press in Chicago heard from his Boston correspondent, he immediately dispatched John Beffel to the scene. Beffel was the staff reporter and he knew what was expected of him.

Shortly thereafter O'Connor [illegible] the Federated Press was sending [illegible] stuff and editorial opinion [illegible] of the United States and [illegible]. Always, he said, the cry was that Sacco and Vanzetti were being persecuted because they were workers.

The Federated Press service was sent to about 94 labor dailies and about 15[illegible] weeklies in the United States, 10[illegible] publications which were foreign-language publications. At the same time it was sent to the London Daily Herald, the powerful organ of the British Labor party, and to the trade union headquarters in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Moscow, Milan and other cities. [illegible] were distributed in the labor papers in those native languages.

Only One Side of Story Given.

Little or no attempt was made to [illegible] the case at this time by the [illegible] facts set by the regular [illegible] according to O'Connor, who [illegible] admitted that the only side of the story that was being read by the workers was the Sacco-Vanzetti side.

It was not long before mass meetings were being called in this country and abroad to protest against the treatment accorded Sacco and Vanzetti, according to O'Connor, and eventually the Federated Press, workers and new associations began to pay attention. From the [illegible] the case was deemed to be of [illegible] importance.

The workers in Europe became even more concerned over the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti than those in America, O'Connor said, because they felt that the two men were being persecuted because they were foreigners and workers. There is in this country, he said, a large number of native workers who are prejudiced against foreign workers and who want them kept out so that labor will not be cheapened.

In the beginning, O'Connor said, Sacco and Vanzetti had only a few [illegible] trade union friends to help them but the crusade to save them had [illegible] the workers of the world were [illegible] to help them with voice, deed and pocketbook.

Cultured and Mild-Mannered.

O'Connor, a cultured and mild-mannered young man, is thoroughly convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti were "railroaded" by the Department of Justice. At the same time, he admitted that a strong and convincing [illegible] special case has been worked up against the pair.

The men were arrested, he said, when the country was still suffering from wartime hysteria. It was a time, he said, when the Department of Justice agents were out to deport all the anarchists in the country. When Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested for the Braintree murders and it was discovered that they were members of the Galleani band of anarchists, he declared, it was only natural that the Department of Justice agents should try to have them convicted.

O'Connor expressed the fear that there would be widespread violence after Sacco and Vanzetti are executed, whatever the philosophical type of anarchist says about it, he declared. "Anarchists believe in violence." Anarchists of this type, however, [illegible] themselves, he said, [illegible] hurting the chances of Sacco and Vanzetti. But they are an emotional [illegible], he concluded, and he does not [illegible] think what will happen if their emotions get the better of them.

WESTERN UNION

BBR748 18 2 EXTRA GOVT.BOSTON MASS 17 1022P

HOOVER.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WASHINGTON DC.

RETELEPHONE GUERRERO AGENT [redacted] LEAVING MANCHESTER NEWHAMPSHIRE FOR LUDLOW TONIGHT IF POSSIBLE IF NOT TOMORROW MORNING.

CRAVEN PER WEST.

12

RECORDED
61-726-8171
61-426-1-6
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 18 1927
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 18 1927
CHIEF CLERK NOTIFIED

Rec'd 11:00 PM

[redacted] ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
[redacted] HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted] 5/3/82 [redacted]

(CONFIDENTIAL)

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Boston, Mass. S.A. File 61-18-2

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
San Antonio, Tex.	Aug. 29, '27	Aug. 8-29th	[redacted] b7c

TITLE:	CHARACTER OF CASE:
NICOLA SACCO and BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI	Radical Activities.

61-126

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Close watch has been maintained throughout the San Antonio District since August 6th relative to any proposed violence on behalf of radicals in the San Antonio District as a demonstration against the court action in the case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. No violent acts transpired in the San Antonio District. No evidence of any proposed acts. Referred back to office of origin no further action here.

DETAILS: Beginning:

In accordance with instructions Agent in Charge and every Agent in the San Antonio office has been on the alert to ascertain if there were any proposed acts of violence in the San Antonio District by radical sympathizers of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Suitable confidential arrangements were made to properly guard Federal buildings throughout the district and the officers of the Federal Court throughout the district. No acts of violence transpired, nor could any evidence be secured of any proposed acts.

On August 8th the South Texas Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions condemning all radical acts in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case and called on the Governor of Massachusetts and Presiden Coolidge not to interfere in the carrying out of the decree of the Courts of Massachusetts. Said resolutions also called on the Presiden to have deported from the United States all alien radicals known to hav participated in any acts of violence or demonstrations against organiz government in connection with this case.

The American Legion Posts at San Antonio and other cities in Southwest Texas also passed similar resolutions. These resolutions we telegraphed to the President of the United States and the Governor of Massachusetts.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-126-824	RECORDED AND INDEXED SEP 1 19[illegible]
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: Div, #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Wash-3 file-1 ~~Boston-2~~ [redacted]	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SEP 1 1927 A.M. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	CHECKED OFF: SEP 7 1927 JACKETED:

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/82 BY [illegible]

Ed ML

Precautionary measures were taken by Postmasters and custodians of Fed Buildings, who had a guard on duty during the discussion of the Sacco-Vanzetti

CLOSED.

Government of the District of Columbia

METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Noted
F.B.W.

REPLY TO
MAJOR AND SUPERINTENDENT

Aug. 31 - 27

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington,
D. C.

1-126

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-8005/Mu

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you so much for your letter of the 29th instant, in which you express your appreciation of the services rendered by members of our force in protecting government property and the lives of some of our officials.

Please rest assured that it will give us great pleasure to serve you in any way at any time and in any particular.

Very truly yours,

Edwin B. Hesse
Major and Superintendent.

EBH:H

RECORDED

61-126-82

SEP 1 1927

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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FBI/DOJ

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: NEW ORLEANS, LA. N. O. FILE 61-8.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
NEW ORLEANS, LA.	8-31-27	8-31-27	[redacted] b7c

TITLE:	CHARACTER OF CASE:
NICOLA SACCO and VARTOLOMEO VANZETTI.	RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

61-126

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No new developments in this case, no evidence secured indicating that the followers of SUBJECTS contemplating any violation Federal statutes in territory allocated to the New Orleans Office. No demonstrations have occured to the knowledge of this office and no requests for assistance have been received.

C L O S E D.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/82 BY SA8B Thuc b7c

DETAILS: Continuing this matter last reported by Agent [redacted] of this office dated 8-16-27, Agent has to advise that there has been no new developments in this matter. No untoward incident has occurred and no property has been damaged.

No Federal statutes have been violated in this territory, to the knowledge of this office, by sympathizers of the above named SUBJECTS.

Since the period of anxiety following the execution of SUBJECTS at the Massachusetts State Prison, Charlestown, Mass. has now apparently passed, ~~matter~~ matter will be concluded.

b2 b7c [redacted]

C L O S E D

----ooOoo-----

JAD.DR

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-126-826	RECORDED AND INDEXED: SEP 3 1927
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: Div. 42.	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Director-2, New Orleans-2	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SEP 2 - 1927 A.M. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	CHECKED OFF: SEP 13 1927 JACKETED:
		ROUTED TO: Div. One Div. Two	FILE

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—1333

R. T. 3.

2

CASE ORIGINATED AT Salt Lake City, Utah - (Director)

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Salt Lake City, Utah	8-31-27	8/8-27/27	[redacted] b7c

TITLE:	CHARACTER OF CASE:
SACCO VANZETTI SYMPATHIZERS	Anarchist and Radical Activities.

61-126 61-214.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Close survey made in this District. With exception of four known radicals, no attempt made to create any interest in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. Italian societies voted to uphold the decision of courts and take no active part in behalf of condemned men.
CLOSED.

DETAILS:

REFERENCE is made to the Director's confidential telegram.

Upon receipt of the above referred to telegram, investigation was immediatel made to get a line on all known anarchists and radicals in this territory.

Through [redacted] b7d a competent and reliable Italian informant, Agent learned that the Italian Societies, namely the Sons of Italy and Columbo, had introduced the matter in the course of open-meetings by one Joe Bombino, and that a vote made at time showed the societies to have voted to uphold the decision of the courts and to have gone on record as not favoring any member taking a part in a sympathy demonstrati in behalf of the condemned men.

Through informant at the Salt Lake Labor Temple, Agent learned that effort was being made by Alfred Sorenson, M. P. Bales and a local attorney, James H. Wolfe, a radicals to excite interest in behalf of Sacco and Venzetti. A protest meeting was held at the Salt Lake Labor Temple Sunday night August 21, 1927. It was well attended by working men, but apparently poorly received. It is well to mention that the attorn named, James H. Wolfe, has for years, been prominent in labor troubles in this Distric and those who know him believe he is using these means to build up a practice among th laboring class.

Taking the whole situation into consideration, little trouble could be expec among the radicals and anarchists in this District, owing to the lack of support that they have been receiving from the laboring class.

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:			RECORDED AND INDEXED
Shubatt [redacted]	61-126-828		SEP 7 1927
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: b7c #2 b2	[redacted]	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SEP 1927 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	CHECKED OFF: SEP 9 1927 JACKETED:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/1/92 BY SP-1 [illegible]

7—1333

SPL 2

CASE ORIGINATED AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
St. Louis, Mo.	9-8-27	8-23/9-7/27	E. J. Connelley, S.A.C.

TITLE: NICOLE SACCO and BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

CHARACTER OF CASE: Possible Anarchistic Activities of Sympathizers

61-9-8

61-126

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

There has been no developments at St. Louis or in the territory of the St. Louis Office indicating any disturbances which are traceable to the activities of sympathizers of the above indicated Subjects. Pending developments which would warrant further report, this case is

REFERRED BACK TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN, no further action here.

DETAILS

Reference is made to my report, dated 8-23-27, entitled as above.

AT ST. LOUIS, MO.

There has been no unusual disturbances in the territory of the St. Louis Office, and nothing has occurred which would indicate that it was the result or activities of sympathizers of the above named Subjects.

Pending developments which would warrant further report, this case is

DETAILS: REFERRED BACK TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN, no further action here.

b2
b7c

[redacted]

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:			RECORDED AND INDEXED:
E J Connelley SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		61-126-836	SEP 1
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 3 Bureau, 2 St. Louis, 2 Boston, 1 Chicago, 1 Phila, 1 Columbus, 1 New York. EJC:CBH	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION A.M. SEP 10 1927 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	CHECKED OFF: JACKETED:
		ROUTED TO: Div. One, Div. Two	FILE

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

E. J. C.

[redacted] #2

b7c

In view of the fact that there have been no acts of violence or any evidence uncovered as to any proposed acts this investigation is referred back to office of origin no further action here.

RUC.

[illegible] Tuesday, Aug. [illegible] 1927.

Sacco Lawyer Spurned Chance to See U. S. Files

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/2/02 BY [illegible] 01-126

Washington Officials Understand Atty. Thompson Declined to Examine Justice Department Records Regarding Condemned Men

(By Traveler Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17—Interest in the Sacco-Vanzetti case here is confined largely to scattered debate around town between those who believe there is doubt as to their guilt and those who feel they were properly convicted. Washington is not an industrial city and has no important radical element; it is made up chiefly of what the radicals sometimes with contempt call white collar workers.

FEW RADICALS IN CITY

Generally speaking there is not the interest one finds in the industrial cities of the northeast. Washington has its artists' quarter and its share of pink intellectuals who are palely critical of many things, but its real radicals are few. They find oral relief for their troubles in a small hall where they gather on Sunday afternoons and let go much as their fellows do on the common in Boston or in Hyde Park, London. One of the leading spirits is a sour tailor who is convinced that men can never be any better than animals and that when both die their bodies give off the energy which keeps the old globe revolving.

There is interest in the government departments which have come into contact with the case. The state department has received hundreds of messages from abroad urging clemency for the two condemned men and most of these have been sent to Gov. Fuller of Massachusetts. The department of justice has been under frequent attack from the defense committee representing the men on the ground that it has concealed somewhere in its files evidence which would show Sacco and Vanzetti innocent.

This charge has been repeated over and over again and has been circulated throughout the world. It is greatly resented at the department, where officials denounce it as bare-faced propaganda and say that the representatives of the defense have never availed themselves of opportunity to examine any files they pleased. Instead of finding anything which would show the men innocent, officials say they would find files showing the official and none too savory records of two of the defense witnesses, former government officers, who were in considerable trouble themselves off and on.

INVITED EXAMINATION

If the charge were true, then Atty.-Gen. Sargent, as head of the department of justice, would be in the position of one who deliberately withheld information which might tend to save two innocent men from death. Those who know Sargent say he is not capable of this. But officials go further than this; they make the statement that an invitation to examine the files was extended to William G. Thompson, until recently head of the defense counsel, and was not accepted.

As a result of charges that the department was concealing something, former Senator William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican national committee, prevailed upon Mr. Sargent, it is understood, to have an invitation sent Mr. Thompson to examine the files. This was extended through the office of the United States attorney for Massachusetts, then Harold P. Williams, who is now a judge on the superior court bench in Massachusetts. The invitation was not accepted.

It has been said that Thompson resented the manner in which it was conveyed to him or objected on the ground that the department wished him to specify which files he wished to examine, but at the department officials say the invitation was made absolutely without strings, but that defense counsel did not avail themselves of the opportunity. [illegible] officials suspect [illegible] occasional Bay State visitors. One of these made a complaint against [illegible] newspapers recently which will perhaps surprise the defense committee.

"In their desire to be fair, the newspapers are leaning over backward," he asserted, "and giving altogether too much space to the statements and activities of the defense committee and other supporters of Sacco and Vanzetti. The defense committee gets its propaganda published in full. The invasion from Greenwich Village is prominently featured and the oear poets and writers who get arrested and bail benefit by advertising they could never obtain on the merit of their literary work.

"But I would have no objection if the newspapers generally gave some attention to the inarticulate workers who are just as sincerely coovinced that men are guilty as their sympathizers are that they are innocent. You can go among working people in the factories and find much resentment at the long delay in this case, complaint that they are being taxed to meet the mounting costs; assertion that Sacco and Vanzetti are receiving more consideration than accorded any other defendants in a capital case in the history of the state, and declaration that if the bomb throwers want a civil [illegible] now is the time to have it. In some respects they are as extreme as those on the other side. When the last respite was granted Sacco and Vanzetti it was difficult to explain that this was done because the case was still before the courts. Many declared this showed what money and skilful lawyers could do and questioned whether the [illegible] authorities are afraid of the men [illegible] their backers. I cite this to show that there is another side of the [illegible] which does not get attention in Massachusetts newspapers."

SEEK NEW POSTAL LAW

One result of this case here will be that Congress will be asked at the next session by the postoffice department to make the sending of threatening letters through the mail an offense under the federal law. It is now a general offense to send obscene matter through the mail but the law has not been extended to cover threatening letters and the senders of these can be punished only when it is possible to state law to reach them when found.

Congressman Charles L. Underhill of Massachusetts recently asked the postoffice department and the department of justice whether federal law could be invoked now to punish those who send threats of damage to lives and property through the mails. The answer in both cases was in the negative.

"The postmaster-general," replied Postmaster-General New, "has no authority in law to refuse to carry threatening letters or to punish those who do so. The only provision of law relating to the character of matter that may be transmitted through the mails for which mail might be refused or the transmitter punished is the provision relating to obscene matter. Broader authority should be given in such cases and I would respectfully call attention to the fact that I have more than once requested legislation on this subject of Congress, but these requests have not resulted in the necessary legislation. I expect to renew my recommendation at the next session of Congress."

O. R. Luhring, an assistant attorney general, also advised Mr. Underhill that there is no federal law to reach those who mail threats today. He said:

"Section 211 of the criminal code prohibiting the depositing in the mails of obscene, lewd or lascivious and indecent matter, defines the term 'indecent' as including 'matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder or any violation.' However, a letter [illegible] the addressee with [illegible]

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/2/2

Director,

Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice,

Washington, D. C.

No.1.
PERSONAL

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

2

August 17, 1927.

61-126

61-126-817X1

AUG 20 1927

61-126-156

AUG 18 1927 M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/2/82 BY SP-PB/JMC

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR.

ATTENTION: MR. NATHAN.

Pursuant to your telephonic instructions, I have called Special Agent West of the Boston Office by long distance, and requested him to tell SAC Craven that the Director desires another agent to proceed to Ludlow, Vermont and report to Agent [redacted] for assignment. This is in accordance with a telegram from Mr. [redacted] which reads as follows: b7c

" Dam advisable to send another agent here."

(Sgd) [redacted]

I beg to advise you that Mr. Craven's residence telephone number is not given in the Director's address book, and so I had to call Mr. West instead. Mr. West assured this office that he would communicate immediately with SAC Craven, and convey to him the Director's orders. Mr. West further informed that the agent will leave for Ludlow on the first train Thursday morning.

Respectfully,

F. C. Guerrero

61-126-817X2

[redacted]
~~61-126-1-40~~ 58

AUG 27 1927

August 25, 1927.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LOHRING.

RECORDED

I am transmitting, attached hereto, copy of a communication received from the Bureau' Dallas, Texas, Office, dated August 18, 1927, relative to the SACCO - VANZETTI case.

Very truly yours,

Director.

Encl. 60412.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-8BTJ/mc

NO. 4.

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Dallas, Texas.
August 18, 1927.

~~Confidential~~.

61-126-817x2
RECORDED AUG 27 1927

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ACTION
SUPERVISOR
DATE

61-126-1-38
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 22 1927 A. M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Div. One
Div. Two
FILE

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Attention Division #1.

Acknowledging receipt of your confidential telegram of the 16th instant, with reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti situation, I desire to advise that to date there have been no developments here by sympathizers or brother anarchists in this district.

Upon receipt of your message, I at once conferred with Mr. Philp, Postmaster at Dallas, and Mr. Sam Gross, United States Marshal of the Northern District of Texas, and it was decided to place a guard over the Federal Building (main postoffice) here. The matter was submitted to Chief of Police Trammell at Dallas, who detailed three officers to duty at the building day and night.

While there is no communist or similar organization in this section of the country, it was deemed advisable to take some precautionary measures against an individual act of some crank or itinerant radical.

I have been advised that similar protective measures were adopted by authorities in Fort Worth, Texas.

Should there be any developments in this matter in this district I will, of course, advise you promptly in full detail.

Very respectfully,

E. J. Gehan

E. J. GEEHAN- Acting,
Special Agent in Charge.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-1BTS/mlc
ON 9/2/80

EJG:w

Mr. Ludwig
8/25/27

3

12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/92 BY SP-1 61-126

AUG 19 1927

61-126-817X3

59

August 25, 1927.

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LEHRING.

I am transmitting, attached hereto, copy of a communication received from the Agent in Charge of the Bureau's Detroit, Michigan, office, dated August 19, 1927, relative to the SACCO - VANZETTI case, together with photostatic copies of clippings attached to said communication.

Very truly yours,

Director.

Encl. 40411.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-8B1/JM

NO. 4

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
P.O.Box 831,
Detroit, Mich.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/2/82 BY SP1 Bostic

61-126-1

August 19-1927 1927

61-126-81713
61-126-1 34

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Sacco- Van Zetti Matters.

AUG 22 1927

PERSONAL ATTENTION-DIRECTOR-

Dear Sir;

I beg to enclose herewith a few clippings from the Detroit Times newspaper of even date regarding subject matter. A Police Permit has been granted for a big meeting on next Monday evening on Cadillac Square in this city, but it will be well covered by uniformed men of the Police Department.

Considerable feeling has been fanned here by effigies that have been paraded about the city for the past several days,and today,the Police decided it had gone far enough and they confiscated the same and will hold the outfit at least until after the feeling has died down.

We have experienced no trouble of any sort to date but because of the apparent high feeling here right now and the ruling of the Court in the east we are again maintaining a quiet surveillence of the Federal building here both day and night. Should any attempts be made to damage this building or cause harm to any Federal Official I hope to be able to prevent it and also to apprehend the person or persons who might be the instigator of any such attempts,keeping in mind the old adage that"the ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure". We are receiving most excellent co operation from the Police department particularly in this matter.

Should anything happen I will advise you immediately by telegraph but I sincerely trust that this will not be necessary and firmly beleive that the quiet preventative measures we are taking here will prevent it.

Respectfully,
T.C. Wilcox
T.C. Wilcox,
Special Agent in Charge.

2 Encl
Mr Luhring
8/25/27

D

D

AIM TO SUPPRESS SACCO DATA DENIED

Justice Officials Declared Anxious to Disclose Wide-Ranging Gathered by U. S.

BY WILLIAM [illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nease
61-126-619

SEP 7 1927

September 3, 1927.

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LUHRING.

I am transmitting, attached hereto, copy of a communication from the Bureau's Detroit, Mich., Office, together with copy of enclosure thereto, relative to the SACCO VANZETTI case.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

Encl. 245985.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/4/[illegible] BY [illegible]

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
MAILED
SEP 3 1927
P.M.
DEPT OF JUSTICE

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
P. O. Box 851,
Detroit, Michigan.

TCW:MCM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/82 BY SP2 61-126

August 24, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Attention, Director-1,

Sacco-Vanzetti matters.

Dear Sir:

I beg to enclose herewith attached clippings taken from the Detroit News under date of August 21, 1927 in connection with subject matter. You will note this is a statement or article written and signed by Agnes Inglis, who now resides at 510 Sunset Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan. You will undoubtedly recall that this lady was one of the agitators against the Government and this Department during the deportation of many radicals back in 1920.

In further connection with subject matter everything has proceeded very quietly here in so far as Federal buildings and Federal Officials are concerned. Matters got to the breaking point here the night of the execution and at the conclusion of an extremely large public meeting on Cadillac Square in the heart of the city, at which meeting there were many inflammatory speeches made, a riot started. The Police organization were so extremely well set in anticipation of this occurrence that the rioting mob was very quickly curbed. There were a few casualties, three police officers being slightly injured and one or two rioters being pu in the hospital, but aside from that we have had no trouble. The Federal Building here has been kept under a quiet and thorough surveillance and we have well observed any actions that would lead us to believe any damage to the building or harm to the lives of Federal officers was contemplated. I have been extremely desirous during all of the recent hysterical period that we might go through the same without any serious trouble and I am very happy to advise you that we have so far succeeded, but I am forced to believe that it has been due in a measure to the fact that we made plans whereby we would know what was going on prior to anything serious happening.

All of the agents attached to this office have been used on many hours of extra duty and I trust that you will allow me this opportunity to commend each and every one of them for their loyalty to the Government, and to this Department in particular, during the recent troublesome period.

SEP 7 1927

Respectfully,

T. C. Wilcox

T. C. Wilcox,
Special Agent in Charge.

L. W. P.

61-126-8

AUG 26 1927

Div. One
Div. Two

Mr Luhring
9/3/27

THE DETROIT NEWS LETTER BOX

THE DETROIT NEWS, SUNDAY, AUGUST [illegible]

Sacco-Vanzetti

To the Editor: How many people in America know that there are two methods of conducting what is called justice here in America?

There are the open courts with public and jurors. People can hear what these trials and the records can be produced. Even laymen can read the rules and are shown the rules.

But there is another way of conducting justice. It is done by secret hearings. In many these the accused is denied counsel and only those who accuse the accused and the official agents of justice are present with the accused at the secret hearings. The report is filed and a copy is sent to Washington. The accused never sees the report filed. The files containing the report are inaccessible to lawyers in open court and to laymen. The accused is often held incommunicado and is subjected to the third degree treatment, including the well known gear of voice. I have witnessed and been subjected to this roar of voice. It is indeed an innocent soul that can be subjected to it without feeling under the sentence of the great guilt imagined in the accusation. One feels trapped. Innocent as one may be one feels convicted. To contemplate how it must feel to be a foreigner in a strange languaged land locked in alone with accusers in a secret hearing turns my blood cold.

During the deportation cases of 1919-1920 I came very closely into touch with the raids and with those arrested under orders of A. Mitchell Palmer, the attorney general of that time, by the agents acting under him. I was in Detroit. I witnessed the methods employed. Many people in Detroit remember those days. Many people recall the Manzevich case. Editorials in The Detroit News in July, August and September, 1924, exposed that case as few secret hearing cases have ever been exposed.

In the Detroit Public Library is to be found, under the card catalogue heading of "Illegal" the "Report upon the Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice." This report tells of the A. Mitchell Palmer raids.

In these raids agent provocators, spies, and frameups played a conspicuous part. This hysteria which swept the country is history now. Broken lives record it. Also the secret hearing records, which no one can see, record it.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case is on record as having started out as one of the radical cases. At the time of the arrest stress was laid upon the connection of the Sacco-Vanzetti case with the Salsado and Nola case. Sacco and Vanzetti were interested in these fellow countrymen and comrades of theirs. They were trying to arouse interest in others for these two men.

Who, [illegible] Salsado and [illegible] They were two radical Italians arrested by the New York Department of Justice and held for [illegible] months in the offices of the Department of Justice in New York in the 14th story of the Park Row Building. At four o'clock on the morning of May 2, 1920, Salsado's body fell out of the 13th story window and crashed down upon the sidewalk. Nola, his friend, was sent off to Italy within a few days while [illegible] would not the public know [illegible] to change the laws and open doors of History. In other countries [illegible] that indignation of the people [illegible] so centered on these cases that [illegible] when oppression has been heaped upon oppression and there is no redress the people themselves have opened them up. It is just right that men should be held incommunicado and tried without counsel or rights of any kind.

I read Aug. 3, 1927, that Governor Fuller of Massachusetts contemplated having the legislature draft a law giving the state supreme court the power to look into evidence in a case as well as into points of law. This would open up these secret hearings in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

I also read that Congressman Emanuel Cellar of New York plans to introduce a measure at the next session of Congress to compel the United States Attorney General to open his files in the Sacco-Vanzetti cases to the Massachusetts courts.

In the Washington Post for Aug. 30, 1927, there is an article in which two senators are quoted as urging that the Federal Attorney-General's files relating to the Sacco-Vanzetti case be made public. It is headed "Senators Wire Appeals to open Justice Files."

I write this letter not only to state my conviction that Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested as radicals under the A. Mitchell Palmer hysteria of 1919-1920, but also to draw attention to secret hearings and secret files. The general public would do well to become educated in the matter of secret hearings and secret files which no one can see. And in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti the Department of Justice files should be opened up and be made known to the public.

AGNES INGLIS
810 Sunset road
Ann Arbor, Mich.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/62 BY SP8 [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

September 7, 1967.

RECEIVED.

SEP 8 1967

Mr. Lewis E. Sawyer,
Sawyer Agency,
Merchants & Manufacturers Bank Bldg.,
216 West Water Street,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your communication of August 28rd., enclosing clipping from the Milwaukee Journal relative to Sacco and Vanzetti meetings.

Please accept my thanks for same.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/81 BY SP8BTJ/MC

FEDERAL FILES DIVISION

RE: RSS
61-126-220

September 8, 1927.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LUHRING.

I am transmitting, attached hereto, copy of a communication received from Mr. Lewis E. Sawyer, of the Sawyer Agency, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, dated August 25, 1927, together with copy of enclosure thereto, relative to the SACCO - VANZETTI case.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

Encl. 245 944.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/4/82 BY SP-1 BTS/mlw

LEWIS E. SAWYER, DIRECTOR

BONDED-STATE OF WISC

SAWYER AGENCY

INVESTIGATIONS

IMMIGRATION, DEPORTATION AND
INCOME TAX ADJUSTMENTS

SUITE 309-312
MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS BANK BUILDING
216 WEST WATER STREET
PHONE BROADWAY 285

MEMBER OF THE
WORLD ASSOCIATION
OF DETECTIVES
CORRESPONDENTS THROUGHOUT
THE WORLD

FINGER PRIN
CRIMINAL IDENTIF
COLLECTIO
CREDIT REPOR

2

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN August 23, 1927

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr.Hoover:- In re: SACCO & VANZETTI MEETINGS.

Enclosed fine clipping from Milwaukee Journal this date which is self explanatory. This for your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/4/82 BY SP8 82

Very truly yours,

LEWIS E. SAWYER

LES/G (Former Special Agent, Milwaukee)

Lewis E. Sawyer

Reply 9/7/27
Mr Luhring
9/3/27
SEP 8 1927

RECORDED

61-126-826

AUG 26 1927

FILE

Div. Two

Sympathizers Decide to Hold Memorial Services in City

A memorial meeting will be held by the Sacco-Vanzetti conference of Milwaukee. This was agreed to at a meeting Monday night in Labor temple, 508 Walnut st. About 250 sympathizers of the two men attended. The executive committee will meet Tuesday night to plan a memorial demonstration.

The meeting Monday night sent telegrams to Gov. Fuller and President Coolidge asking them to intervene in behalf of the doomed men. A. R. Piepenhagen presided. News of the execution reached the hall after the meeting had adjourned, but while a few of the leaders were still at the hall.

Legal Crime, He Says

Leo Krzycki, former Milwaukee alderman, an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, spoke. "This is the most tragic and dramatic moment in the history of the United States," he said. The Sacco-Vanzetti conviction and execution he called a "legal crime."

He compared Sacco and Vanzetti with John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison and other martyrs to ideas afterward adopted. The workers were advised to stop quarreling among themselves, to get together all over the world into one big working class party, "clean out those in power and substitute for them working people."

Mr. Krzycki declared that there is a "ray of hope" in the increase of unemployment, rising cost of living and cutting of wages. The Insull incident in Illinois and Teapot Dome scandal were used as instances of how he said big business men are treated as compared with the fate of workers.

Urges Political Action

Ald. H. O. Kent, one of the Socialist leaders in this city, advised united political action by the workers. He reviewed the Sacco-Vanzetti case and said the proof against them was not conclusive.

"If you had one of your own men in the place of governor or judge, Sacco and Vanzetti would have had a fair trial," he said.

L. J. Weinberg, Minneapolis Socialist and a Russian, advised a general strike as the workers' most effective remedy. "I wish I was in Russia," he said in opening his talk. Later outside the hall he was asked why he did not go back to that country, but made no reply.

Cora Meyer, secretary of the conference, reported a collection of $255 at the previous protest meeting and donations of about $400 from organizations, the exact amount not being given.

---

the excitement and hysteria wa
its height. No witness cared
to fall or to explain.

Down in Massachusetts, w
interesting others in this dea
Salsado, Sacco and Vanzetti
arrested, May 5, 1920. They
were questioned as to their r
opinions. But presently the p
were full of the death of Sa
An investigation was pending.
suddenly people forgot Sal
Sacco and Vanzetti drew the
tion of the press. It seemed
were murderers. It made a
excitement. The mass meetin
Salsado was never held! If
was deliberately planned it
clever move. It certainly w
Now it was all—were Sacco
Vanzetti guilty of murder, the
Massachusetts. Away off in
York, Salsado, an unknown
ing man, was dead and anothe
known working man was dep
No one spoke. Sacco and Va
were not now under the De
ment of Justice. They were t
over to the courts. The Depar
of Justice dropped out. But
so the radicalism of Sacco and
zetti entered into the case. I
prejudicial. Yet the Departme
Justice did not come into the
court case.

At present the Sacco-Va
case is attracting the attent
the world. It makes it a pro
time to focus the attention on
hearings.

I have never understood wh
sado died. Why did his bo
out of the 14th story window
Park Row Building which be
to the offices of the Departm
Justice? Why was Elia at on
ported though, before that, h
been held there for two m
Why was no explanation gi
all of this? If an explanatio
been given I have not been t
it. Are Sacco and Vanzetti
because they asked this que
They were getting up a mass
ing to ask this question wher
were arrested. Why should
ask what goes on behind
doors in these secret hearing
tigations of the Department o
tice and Immigration unde
Federal Attorney General?
are not files which contain r
whereby men are arrested and
ed and deported open files?
the Constitution and the law
fession uphold secret hearings
secret hearings are illegal wh
they allowed?

7/2/82 BY

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

P. O. Box 239,
423 Federal Building, Boston, Mass.

August 23, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to verbal instructions under date of August 22, 1927, there is attached hereto a signed sworn statement submitted to this office by [redacted] relative to interview he had with Mr. Tom O'Connor of the Sacco and Vanzetti Defence Committee.

b7c

Respectfully,

James L. Craven

JAMES L. CRAVEN,
Special Agent in Charge.

JLC:JMC

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/6/82 BY SP8BR/ma

SEP 7 1927

RECORDED
61-126-820

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 6 1927
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/82 BY SP-4 [illegible]

Boston, Massachusetts,
August 23, 1927.

67c

I, the undersigned, [redacted], of Boston, Massachusetts, on oath, depose and say:

That On Monday, August 22, 1927, I received the contents of the following note which was delivered at my home, [redacted], on Sunday, August 21, 1927:

"Sunday, Aug.21/27,

[redacted]

Please telephone Mr. Tom O'Connor, Hotel Bellevue Haymarket 2981 - Parlour C. It is of utmost importance. Do this immediately if you are there when this message reaches you, if not telephone any time you receive it. (signed) Tom O'Connor."

That having received the contents of the above message on August 22, 1927, I went to Hotel Bellevue, Boston, about 11 a.m. August 22, 1927, and had a conversation with Mr. O'Connor, the substance of which was about as follows:-

That I had telephoned my home and learned he wanted to get into touch with me. He assumed that I knew what he wanted and asked me my name and age and the capacity in which I was employed by the U. S. Department of Justice, to which I replied giving my name and age and telling him that I entered the service of the Department in the Spring of 1918 and continued in the service, as I recalled, about four years;

That he then asked me if I had worked on the Sacco and Vanzetti case, to which I replied that I had not worked on the Sacco and Vanzetti case but did at one time secure at the State Prison, Boston, a copy of the record of Vanzetti who was understood to be a radical;

That he then asked me if this checking-up was before or after the murder, and asked me if I could not refresh my memory to the effect that it might have been before the murder, to which I replied I was absolutely positive it was after the murder;

That he asked me if it was not a fact that I had known that both Sacco and Vanzetti were members of the Galleani Group of anarchists, to which I replied that I had never heard that;

That he asked me if the list of radicals in the Department office did not contain the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, prior to the murder, to which I replied that to the best of my knowledge those lists did not contain their names;

That he asked me when I first heard the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, to which I replied that I had first heard of the

names in connection with the South Braintree murder;

That in reply to his question as to the nature of my-work for the Department in connection with investigations of so-called radicals I advised him that the work consisted of investigating or checking-up the whereabouts and activities of persons who were said to be radicals and of Italian anarchists; that such work was done in connection with investigations to ascertain who the persons were who were responsible for the Wall Street Bomb Explosion and for the Bomb Explosions of June, 1919;

That I further told him that on the day of the Wall Street Bomb Explosion I was sent to Milford, Massachusetts, and also to Wrentham, Massachusetts, for the purpose of checking-up Italian anarchists said to live there in order to determine whether or not any of them were absent on that date and, if so, where they were;

That while at Milford, Massachusetts, I spoke with the Chief of Police on that date and was informed by him, for the first time, that Sacco had been a resident of that town;

That Mr. O'Connor asked me if I did not already know before I went to Milford and Wrentham in connection with investigation of the Wall Street Bomb Explosion that Sacco and Vanzetti were members of the Galleani group of anarchists, to which I replied that I did not.

That Mr. O'Connor told me that counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti were satisfied of their innocence and felt that the jury placed great emphasis on the Consciousness of guilt phase of the case because of Sacco and Vanzetti running away from the Johnson place, and, therefor if the defence could show that the Government had the names of these men on a list of radicals and were hunting them it would explain the actions of Sacco and Vanzetti and give them a new trial and open the records of the Department;

That I replied to Mr. O'Connor that I thought such evidence would help his case very much but that I did not know of any Department list containing the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, that I never investigated either of them until after they had been arrested, and that I never heard of either one of them amongst the radicals until they were arrested;

That Mr. O'Connor asked me what was the general opinion among the men in the Department as to the innocence of guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti, to which I replied that I did not recall ever hearing the innocence or guilt of these men discussed in the office by the men and that the only references I heard to them was as radicals;

That he then asked me if I knew anything of the Salsedo case, in reply to which I said all that I knew of it was what I had read in the newspapers at the time, this being in reply to his question as what I knew about Salsedo "who was supposed to have jumped out of a window in New York but nobody knew just how it did happen;"

That he then asked if I did not not hear the Salsedo case discussed in the Department, to which I replied that I did hear the Salsedo case referred to but never heard it discussed in detail;

That he then said that he understood that I "covered" the Di Falco case, which was the case of some woman in the Municipal Court of Boston after the arrests of Sacco and Vanzetti who was charged by some people with unawfully soliciting law business, and in reply to that I stated that I could not state I was "covering" the trial but was there several days and my interest there was to become acquainted by sight with radicals who were interested in that trial and were attending the trial;

That he then asked me if any other agents covered the trial, to which I replied that I did not know that any agents did cover that Di Falco trial but it was possible that some of them dropped in during the course of that trial;

That he then asked me if I knew about an informant or someone being placed in a cell at Dedham Jail where Sacco was confined, to which I replied that I did not know it at the time it was done and did not hear of it until sometime after it occurred and did not know the details in connection with it.

That he also asked me if I attended radical meetings in connection with my work in the Department, to which I replied that I did, and then asked me if I knew a man named Zorian, to which I answer that I did, and in return he merely said that Zorian was now running a barber-shop in Lynn or Salem;

That at times he accused me of not being specific or able to go into detail about matters, in reply to which I told Mr. O'Connor that if I knew anything that would in any way prove the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti or anything that would help save a life I would have no hesitancy in telling him but that these matters all occurred so far as I was concerned six or seven years ago, that it was the firs time I had been approached in reference to them and it was naturally difficult to recall off-hand details but I was telling him truthfully that I never heard of either Sacco or Vanzetti until they were arreste by the police on the murder charge, that I never knew or never heard that the Boston office of the Department of Justice was ever looking for Sacco and Vanzetti prior to or at the time of their arrest, and that any work done by me bearing upon them was done after their arrest and was merely inquiry into radical activities in general and in connection with investigations conducted into the June, 1919, and Wall Street Bomb Explosions;

That Mr. O'Connor then wanted me to sign an affidavit but I told him before doing so I would have to think it over and seek advic to which he said if I had an attorney he would probably advise me not to sign it but that if I brought in the attorney and he saw the affidavit he would not object to me signing it; but that later I telephon to Mr. O'Connor and told him I would not sign an affidavit [redacted]

Boston, Mass., Aug.23,1927,
sworn and subscribed to before me,
Carl A. Sumner

WESTERN UNION

Received at Commercial Nat'l Bank Bldg., 14th & G Sts., N. W. Washington, D. C.

ZA47 40 GOVT RATE NL COLLECT

DETROIT MICH 22

DIRECTOR

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATON DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WASHINGTON DC

RIOT OF TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND HERE TONIGHT AT CLOSE OF MEETING IN PUBLIC SQUARE WHERE INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES MADE STOP ENTIRELY SUBDUED BY POLICE WITH THREE OFFICERS SLIGHTLY INJURED STOP SERIOUS SITUATION FOR SHORT TIME BUT QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY HANDLED

WILCOX.

AUG 23 1927

RECORDED

61-126-8201

61-126

AUG 23 1927

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/2/90 BY SP8 [illegible]

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

Director

Reference [redacted] which are traceable to sympathizers. Protest meetings have been held with small number attending. Report follows.

Tao Connelley.

Rec'd. 12:50

[redacted] c

To Director 1

Class. & Ext. By SP-1 BJ mc
Reason-FCIM II, 1-2, & 2
Date of Review 7/2/92

[redacted] c

RECORDED
61-126-82012
61-126-167
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
[redacted] c
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

L. H. F.

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]
62-101-001

SEP 7 1927

September 6, 1927.

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER.

I am transmitting, attached hereto, copy of a communication from the Bureau's Nashville, Tenn., Office, together with copy of enclosure thereto, relating to the BAGGS - VANKEREN case.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

Encl. 245962.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-1 [illegible]

FBI - FILES DIVISION RECEIVED SEP 8 1927

L. W. P.

3 3 2

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Box 868,
Nashville, Tenn.,
August 24, 1927.

285 R

61-126

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention: Division No. 2.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DIVISION 2
AUG 28 1927

I enclose herewith clipping from the Knoxville News-Sentinel, which displays picture of First Baptist Church at Knoxville which was defaced by Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers.

This for your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/02 BY

Very truly,

J. M. Fowler,
Agent In Charge.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

1 Encl.

JMF:M

RECORDED & INDEXED
SEP 7 1927

61-126-8.21
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 26 1927
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Div. One
Div. Two

Mr Fehring 7/3/03

Newspaper

L. W. P.

the Greatest World-Wide Newspaper Service

Citizen

AUGUST 23, 1927. PRICE TWO CENTS.

SACCO-VANZETTI DIE

CLEVELAND MONASTERY IS DAMAGED; ONE KILLED IN GENEVA DEMONSTRATIONS

Building Housing United States Delegates To International Press Conference Stoned By Anarchists' Sympathizers Movies Entered and U. S. Films Seized.

NFW YORK REPORTS BUT FEW OUTBREAKS

Gotham Police Reserves Keep Situation Well in Hand—Sporatic Attempts of Gatherings to Stage Parades Fail—Death [illegible] Held.

[illegible]

[illegible] of 25 [illegible]

[illegible] of property [illegible]

2. Showing of the [illegible] Geneva where American delegates to International Peace Conference were seated.

Destruction of American films being shown in Geneva [illegible]

Clashes between police and crowds of sympathizers in [illegible]

Monastery At Cleveland Bombed

By United Press

CLEVELAND, [illegible]

The Franciscan Monastery of St. Joseph's Church was bombed here early today shortly after the execution in Massachusetts of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Windows were shattered for blocks and nearby residents were hurled from their beds.

The explosion was believed to have been caused by the setting off of five or six sticks of dynamite.

NO ONE INJURED.

No one was injured, according to Father Matthew Schmitt, pastor of the church.

The dynamite was exploded under a Gothic doorway in the rear of the church leading into the monastery.

No one was seen leaving the vicinity. Police squads were dispatched to scour the neighborhood. One man was arrested.

MAN THROWN FROM BED.

A piece of gun cotton was found in the debris.

Max Klotzbrucher, a visitor in the monastery from Humphrey, Neb., narrowly escaped. Klotzbrucher, whose room was near the doorway, was thrown from his bed. At the same moment a big wardrobe toppled over, falling on the bed.

Fifteen Franciscan brothers and fathers occupied the monastery, four [illegible] over 65 years old.

Complete Wire Reports of UNITED

The Knoxville

HOWARD VOL. XLI.—No. 231 KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

MAY SUE NSETTLED RED FINES

ouse May Be Built unds Collected Bondsmen.

,000 NOW DUE

er and Sneace to Afternoon.

TON J. STONG city workhouse, by Judge E. G. s recent ruling on ions, may be built s collected from bondsmen. n of records today professional bonds- e R. P. (Bob) Wil- have gone security tely $30,000 in fines n uncollected and not been worked out oners. In addition, 0,000 in uncollected een secured by city rs.

nst the bondsmen be instituted unless rily make settlement, Peters indicated to-

erence Today

old a conference this ith Judge Williams Director Cary F. already has an- intention of recom- construction of a new se.

e "Bob'e" failure to ne security blanks in d in the way of the on of the entire sum.

s upon which the cured provide a space

TRACY SAYS

If Monday was an average day, 5000 people died in this country—Sacco and Vanzetti did not go into the dark alone.

By M. E. TRACY

AKRON, O., Aug. 23.—Sacco and Vanzetti go to the Great Beyond with Madeiros preceding them by only a few moments.

"Long live anarchy!" cried one, and "I am innocent," declared the other.

Was it outraged guiltlessness [illegible] end?

The words of dying men are not always true, but they are more apt to be than those of the living.

Ghastly business, those triple executions, but not exceptionally so if one forgets the setting.

If Monday was an average day, 5000 people died in this country, some of them painfully.

Again, if it was an average day, 30 were murdered, 30 were killed by automobiles and 50 committed suicide.

Sacco and Vanzetti did not go forth into the dark alone. No one does. While you have read the above paragraphs, allowing that it took you 30 seconds, there were two deaths in the United States.

* * *

Leaves Scars

FEW men have ever received more attention than Sacco and Vanzetti during the last seven years of their lives, especially during the last year.

The efforts made in their behalf constitute a splendid exhibition of human sympathy, but one that leaves scars.

Such waves of emotionalism do not die out quickly.

Some people will continue the argument to their last breath, some have been made permanently hysterical and some have played with thoughts of violence too intimately for release.

* * *

Hectic Day

SAYS MINNICH ADMITS AFFAIR WITH NEIGHBOR

Investigator in Kingsport Woman's Death Declares Her Husband Confessed.

ILLICIT LOVERS ON TRIAL

Minnich and Mrs. Vinson Accused of Murder, Hearing Today.

Special To The News-Sentinel

KINGSPORT, Tenn., Aug. 23.—Clint W. Minnich had admitted having relations with Mrs. Alice Vinson, a neighbor, Deputy Sheriff Paul L. Thompson testified today at the preliminary hearing for the two charged with the murder of Mrs. Minnich. Deputy Thompson told of an investigation he had conducted into the death of Mrs. Minnich, who was found shot dead at the Minnich home near Cloud's Ford, four miles west of Kingsport on the afternoon of Monday, Aug. 20.

Mrs. Minnich had been found with a revolver clutched in her hand and a note stuffed in the bosom of her dress. Minnich and Mrs. Vinson had contended that Mrs. Minnich shot herself.

Deputy Thompson said that when he went to the Minnich home to investigate he found Minnich and Mrs. Vinson in hysterics, both protesting that they had nothing to do with the death of Mrs. Minnich and claiming

How Firs

The picture above legends painted in red ing the night by Sac Besides the expres murdered," was found at the left end of the

SACCO, GALL

All Is Quiet Within G For Freedom

By RUTH FINNE

Scripps-Howard Staff Corres

BOSTON, Mass., Aug They have behaved like men, the law said seve ago, and so it found Sa Vanzetti guilty of murd

Two wretched, tragic l ended.

The two were able to lantly. After all it must h easier for them to sit dow electric chair than to live have for seven years wit

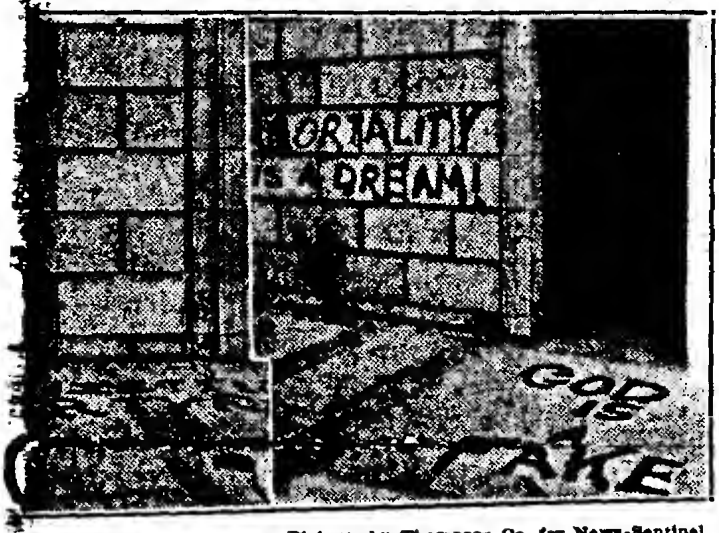
SS, the Greatest World-Wide News Service

ews-Sentinel

First Hom

AY EVENING, AUGUST 23, 1927 • • PRICE FIVE CE

ist Church Was Defaced



—Picture by Thompson Co. for News-Sentinel

the defacement ofthe First Baptist church here by atheistic walls, steps and porch floors of the church some time dur- ympathizers.

in the picture the statement that "Sacco and Vanzetti were leading up to the porch, and a large skull and crossbones

NZETTI IN DEATH

Prison as Seven-Year Fight otric Chair; Police d.

ong came swiftly at the end very silently.

There was no moaning from the con cells. There were no sounds rioting outside, for police held crowds a quarter of a mile m the gray stone walls.

All Are Quiet

Even the group in rocking rs, gathered there to watch happened and talk about it, st from the room of death, enough to hear voices from

BOMBS PROTEST RADICAL DEATHS

Americans Stoned In Geneva By Sympathizers.

By United Press

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 23.—The Franciscan monastery of St. Joseph's church was bombed here early today shortly after the execution in Boston of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

No one was injured. The monastery was damaged to the extent of $10,000 and windows in houses for blocks around were shattered.

AMERICANS ARE STONED

SACCO SYMPATHIZERS DEFAC FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH HE AS RADICALS DIE IN CHA

"God is a Fake," "Sacco and Vanzetti Are Martyrs," Legends Read.

RED LETTERS FOOT HIGH

Identity of Painters Unknown; Radical Students Suspected; Grocery Store Daubed Too.

The First Baptist church here was defaced during the night by Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers.

"Sacco and Vanzetti are martyrs."

"God is a Fake."

"Immortality is a Dream."

"Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered."

These legends, painted in red letters a foot high, were found on the gray stone walls and steps of the church front this morning, following the execution in Boston early this morning of the two Italian anarchists.

A large skull and cross bones had also been painted with a smearing brush on the porch floor of the church.

Hundreds of curious persons congregated around the front of the church on West Main avenue this morning to see the inscriptions placed during the night by unknown hands.

Police were on guard and the premises were searched as a precaution against possible hidden bombs or dynamite. No explosives were found however.

Seeks Fingerprints

Mike Cross, criminal identification expert, was called to the

Doomed Anarchists Death Repeating Innoc Of Double Murder

IT TAKES LITTLE

Madeiros Precedes Oth Execution; All Three And Dignified.

By HENRY MINOT

United Press Staff Correspon

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. The Sacco-Vanzetti case, dragged thru the Massachusetts courts for seven ended dramatically in the ric chair early today in 24 minutes.

Stoically and with a defiance, Nicola Sacco, the maker, and Bartolomeo V the fish peddler, went to deaths protesting their inn

Celestino Madeiros, the ful Portuguese who had fessed to the crimes of they were convicted, wa them. He, too, died a sto

Prison Like Fortres

A gray old prison that bled an ancient fortress w scene of this closing cha the case that started as t ventional murder of a pay and his guard, and ultimat came a world issue.

Up to the hour of doom attorneys who had battled tiessly that the lives of th demned anarchists might b hanged, held the faintest gl of hope of staying the h death.

Once before—only 12 since—these same lives ha spared by a midnight re

...the telegraph wires, ...g to a room inside the walle... ...rry out the last chapter of ...tory, were silent, waiting.

...ere was nothing but the clash ...oots on cobbles where the ...ted police stood guard out-

Lawyer Gives Up

...at sound and the low words ...chael Musmanno, who leaned ...st the wall in a corner of the ...en's office, very pale and said ...he could control his voice: ...ed to tell them again that ...ey are innocent. I wanted ...them that they are the ...tenderest men I ever ...

...in that last half ...anno stopped the ...had been making ...wn to await the ...

...acco and Luigia ...i Felicani and ...he little group ...men, stayed ...until an hour ...when he had ...s at last, ...house with ...eyes.

...wo men ...prison ...and

...

...

...

JPM-F

61-126-

AUG 31 1927

61-126-822

RECORDED & INDEXED

August 30, 1927.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LEHRING

I am transmitting herewith for your information and appropriate attention, a copy of a letter addressed to Rand McNally & Company of Chicago, Illinois, transmitted to this office by Rand McNally & Company of Washington, D. C., from one [redacted] relating to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts.

b7c

It will be noted that the writer of this letter suggests that all maps of Massachusetts be painted in black, and he further intimates that the United States should disown Massachusetts.

Very truly yours,

Inc. 242971.

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/2/92 BY SA [illegible]

BUREAU FILES DIVISION MAILED AUG 31 1927 DEPT. OF JUSTICE

NO. 4

[redacted]

[redacted]

MAIN 2600

b7c

[redacted]

PHONE 881 CE

923,27

AUG 31 1927

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY [illegible]

61-126-823

AUG 31 1927

Div. Two

Chicago, Ill.,

Gentlemen:-

Having at various times been a patron of your Company, I am going later the liberty of making a suggestion.

The suggestion concerns the murder of Sacco & Vanzetta in the Charlestown prison to day.

In consideration that this state has shown its willingness, to murder under the guise of law, ever since the burning of ~~witch~~ witches in Salem and to day has added to its atrocity by murdering two men, whom they knew were innocent, I suggest that all Massachusetts maps and in all places where they appear in geographical maps, be printed in black and that this be continued as long as maps are made or until such time as the Union may decide to disown this state, when it can be left blank. The traffic with this state should be stopped. The persons instrumental by commission, or omission should be branded as murders and the state should be known

[redacted] b7c

61-126

August 30, 1927.

Maj. E.B. Hesse,
Superintendent,
Metropolitan Police,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Chief:

I want to express my official and personal appreciation of the very cordial and excellent cooperation tendered by your office and members of the Police Department to this Bureau in rendering assistance for the proper protection of Government property and the lives of some of the Government officials made necessary by threats of sympathisers of Sacco and Vanzetti. Without exception the members of your Department have responded in a spirit of excellent cooperation. I would like to express particular appreciation of the assistance rendered by Assistant Superintendent Pratt and the Officers and Members of the Second and Fifth precincts.

With expressions of my best regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

RECORDED

Director.

61-126-8

AUG 31 1927

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DATE 7/2/82 BY SP8B/SMC

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
AUG 31 1927